THE UNDERLYING CAUSES OF SOME PROBLEMATIC RESPONSES TO CURRICULUM EVALUATION REPORTS WITHIN THE ETHNOGRAPHIC TRADITION

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Thesis: The underlying causes of some problematic responses to curriculum evaluation reports within the ethnographic tradition.

Summary

This thesis follows the natural history of the research which gave rise to it. Working as an evaluator on a Social and Environmental Studies curriculum development project in the Republic of Ireland the author was surprised by some of the reactions to his evaluation reports. After consideration he came to the conclusion that these products of his evaluation had of themselves some sort of socio-political role.

Moving to Northern Ireland he came into contact with a number of other evaluators some of international repute, who convinced him that his experiences were not unique but were shared by other evaluators. He was helped to formulate and flesh out an Aggregate Pathology Model of reactions to evaluation products. This model represented a cumulative but not necessarily complete schema of possible negative reactions to evaluation products and included; cooption and collusion between the evaluation and the project, restrictive renegotiation of the evaluator's contract, rhetorical acceptance of the product divorced from political action, rejection of the evaluator or his product, distancing from the evaluation, a counter denunciation in which dossiers of evidence are produced to discredit the evaluation, the use of human sensitivity as an instrument of human control over the evaluation, and a 'rival product' developed as an internal counter-thrust to the independent evaluation.

Visiting this model with members of the evaluation community the author received qualified approval of its contents as a valid and useful map of many of their own evaluative experiences.

In endeavouring to ascertain what might be the cause of the pathological reactions to evaluative products Concomitant Variation Method was used to compare contrasting between-case evaluation outcomes. This enabled the establishment of constants and independent and dependent variables, in evaluation cases where typicality had been established. As a result of its application to evaluation cases three explanations are advanced as causes of pathological reactions to evaluation products. These are (1) that the products are not 'practical' in the sense identified by Schwab (2) that the pathology represents reactions to evaluation perceived as a degradation exercise (3) that evaluation products appear at nodes or decisive cusps in project activity where sensitivity is heightened.

These explanations are offered as decisive in a final case study of a curriculum evaluation this time conducted in the political and social sensitivities of Northern Ireland.

The thesis ends with a methodological appendix and a summary of the conclusions. A review of the literature covers the history of the evaluation problem of the thesis from its beginnings as a substantive critique of the testing movement and as a partial expansion from curriculum development, to the use of ethnography and other metaphors from the sciences and arts in the evaluation of curricula. The problem itself, aspects of which are covered in the literature, is next dealt with and some pertinent explanatory concepts from the social sciences are given. Finally, some published material concerning the principal evaluation cases studied in the thesis are given.

Abbreviations

cf.	refer to
Ed. Eds.	Editor(s)
et al.	and other authors
ff.	and following pages
ibid.	the same reference
id. idem.	the same author/editor
loc. cit.	the place already cited
op. cit.	the work already cited
p.	page
pp.	pages
passim	general reference
qv.	consult the reference
ref.	reference

CHAPTER ONE SETTING THE SCENE

1.1. Overview

The purpose of this initial chapter is twofold: (1) to give signposts to the reader by offering a sequential "summary of the argument" of the thesis. (2) to review the literature relevant to the selected research problem .

1.1.1. The sequence of the argument, thesis summary

The thesis follows the natural history of the research which gave rise to it. During the course of his evaluation of the Republic of Ireland Department of Education sponsored Social and Environmental Studies Project (SESP), a second level curriculum development programme that sought to integrate the teaching of certain subjects, History, Geography and Science, using the environment as a primary resource, the author ran into problems.

Although adopting a so-called illuminative approach and thus committing himself within a tradition committed to producing helpful insights, he nonetheless found that his reports produced unanticipated social reactions. These were, by and large, negative effects and were regressive and potentially harmful to his work. They gave rise to local and national political decisions that had a crucial bearing on the future of the evaluation and on the future of the project in the overall development of Irish education. An inventory of the key events in the SESP evaluation, their circumstances and consequences, as well as intimations of their problematic significance, are given in Chapter Two of the thesis.

Moving to Northern Ireland's New University of Ulster (NUU) the author found himself in a quite different political setting, but similar professional problems emerged. As a co-director of the Schools Cultural Studies Project (SCPS) which was introducing dialogue across the sectarian divide and trying to bring sectarian issues into the formal curriculum of Protestant and Catholic schools, he ran into similarly puzzling socio-political pressures. But this time a number of co-evaluators with whom he worked suggested that the difficulties were normal, a matter of common experience to those adopting evaluative stances similar to his own. Broadening his contacts among practitioners in the UK he confirmed that the kind of encounter on the evaluation site at Shannon might be of more general application and importance.

Pursuing a line of enquiry which accummulated similar negative experiences under suitable headings, together with Professor David Jenkins, he produced a scheme of categories, the Aggregate Pathology Model (APM), within which most possible negative reactions to curriculum evaluation reports might be subsumed. While it was apparent that most of these reactions had their actual occurrence in illuminative-type evaluations, instances were also recorded from the other main evaluation tradition the 'classical' or 'objectives' model, as well. This gave rise to the feeling that whereas the problems were posed more sharply in close-up portrayal-style evaluations, it might well be potentially indemic to all evaluation methodologies.

An account of the emergence of the APM, together with illustrations of each of its seven typologies, based largely on the documented experiences and professional gossip of evaluators, is given in Chapter Three.

Chapter Four reviews the author's attempts to obtain peer-group validation for the APM. It details the responses of evaluation specialists to the schema, and conflates the more general experiences of 'illuminative' evaluators, demonstrating to an extent its validity and efficacy as a pathology. The author first circulated the model among a group of evaluation practitioners in the U.K. and then, an observer at the Third Cambridge Conference of Evaluators (CC3) held at Girton College, Cambridge in December 1979, he recorded impressions of prominent evaluators and commentators in the field, from both sides of the Atlantic. These largely endorsed the model, if stopping short of entirely validating it. Many of the discussions at the Conference, which dealt with the social and political effects of evaluation in largely illuminative case-study settings, corroborated the line of enquiry formulated in the pathology.

Satisfied that APM type reactions to curriculum evaluation products constituted a relatively serious problem at least within the illuminative field, the author next, in Chapter Five, explored the conditions for, or causes of, the APM phenomenon. Using Concomitant Variation Analysis he undertook a comparative evaluation case study. This study contrasted two evaluation cases in which APM type reactions had occurred. It reviewed possible causes for these reactions eliminating some as unnecessary or insufficient, while focussing on three as necessary and sufficient conditions, the occurrence of which allowed confident prediction that APM type reactions would follow in their train.

Taking these three conditions as hypotheses (if A then B) to be verified in an "experimental" situation the author, next in Chapter Six, took them to a case, the evaluation of the Schools Cultural Studies Project. The purpose here was to explore again in Concomitant Variation Analysis, the political and social aspects of an actual evaluation study

situation; he advanced the already formulated hypotheses as being the conditions, necessary and sufficient, for the emergence, as dependant variables, of APM type reactions. The analysis not only verified the hypothesis but indicated precisely in a particular setting some of its mechanisms in more detail.

1.1.2. Survey of Literature

The problem addressed in this thesis is a complex one coming out of negative reactions to particular evaluation products in well-defined settings. Since the context - curriculum evaluation activity, within a particular ethnographic tradition, attached to national or regional curriculum development projects - has itself attracted to a formidable literature, a full understanding of the research problem requires familiarity with the literature of at least the following areas (a) the curriculum reform movement as a means of managing planned change in education, (b) the research design and development models associated with curricular reform, in particular the emergence of an 'objectives' model and changes emanating from the substantial critique of it (c) alternative or so-called 'illuminative' evaluation strategies, Parlett and Hamilton (1972) (d) observed reactions to the introduction of ethnography-based reports in educational settings (e) deliberative theory, particularly as found in so-called 'curriculum discourse' Reid (1981) (f) descriptive curriculum analysis, particularly where it explicates the specified curriculum development initiatives which are selected as case studies in the body of the text.

Taking a more focussed view of the research problem, the emergence of a 'pathology' and subsequent attempts to explain it, other bodies of literature are called in question. In so far as the problem can be seen as reflecting wider themes and explanatory concepts from sociology and

social psychology, there is a concomitant need to explore a background literature in such widely dispersed areas as deviance theory, conflict theory, reference group theory, the sociology of moral indignation, games theory, and various theories of social interaction. In so far as some of the original data has the status of professional gossip it proved necessary to look at aspects of the literature of the social psychologically of gossip, particularly its normative/reflective role.

The ways in which each of these diverse bodies of literature relates to the research question as posed are elaborated under the following headings.

(1) perceived shortcomings of the testing movement

(2) the adoption of alternative evaluation process

(3) problematic areas associated with the

(4) deliberative theory and the thesis problem alternative

(5) Social theory and the thesis problem

1.2. Perceived shortcomings of the testing movement

Each curriculum project that is subject to a case study in the body of the text reflects a contemporary debate on the role of testing in evaluation, and the legitimacy of the emerging ethnographic approaches. It is necessary to understand this historically, as the so called "new wave" evaluation is incomprehensible in the absence of such an analysis. We deal first with the emergence of a critique of testing which initiated the so called "new wave" evaluation movement.

This literature can be analysed in a way that exhibits its three most relevant themes: certain developments within the testing movement; new approaches to the development of curricula; and the early identification of shortcomings.

1.2.1. Developments within the testing movement

The testing movement had its origins in psychological testing, and developed an 'objectives model' for testing classroom achievement.

Anastani (1961) covers the uses, validity and classification of psychological tests. Aiken (1984), Burt (1962), Barnette (1964), Catell (1936), Chauncey and Dobbin (1963), Cronbach (1970), Freeman (1955), Goodenough (1949), Heim (1954), Savage (1968), Stephenson (1949), Terman and Merill (1960), Tyler (1963) and Vernon (1960) follow the same pattern.

The American Psychological Association (1977) following the wide diffusion and use of tests, produced a set of norms for tests and manuals "to codify a uniform set of standards for psychological practice" for "users, providers and sanctioners of psychological services."

Buros (1965), failing to establish an agency for "testing the tests", decided instead to get a panel of experts to review critically all tests. His amiable tomes of sometimes witty comment ("should not the do-it-yourself movement be stopped short of professional psychology?") testify to Buros' energy and editorial ability. He put together a "representative sampling of able test technicians, subject matter specialists and psychologists" who would, according to one flattering reviewer handsomely "edited in" with Buros' ever voluminous melange, "provide the unsophisticated test user with competent, well qualified, fair and unbiased judgements."

The proceedings of the Educational Testing Society conferences 1964-1969 offer a general sample of the kinds of issue raised by the testing movement during the sixties. These include the explanation of concepts of evaluation and use in testing; for example testing as a diagnostic concept for the deprived, Hamburger (1965), as a service for student counselling or guidance, Manning (1970), as an aid in the

construction and validation of educational theories, (ibid), or as a macro educational and socialisation service, Du Bois (1965), Dyer (1967), and Trow (1967). Other issues raised at ETS conferences were more technical problems, of factor analysis and prediction, Guttman (1965), Kaiser (1965). or continuous validation e.g. for criterion referenced testing, Cronbach (1970)b. More general and philosophical issues uncovered at ETS conference proceedings include the possibility of values teaching and testing, Scriven (1966), and Smith (1966); and tests as appropriate models for interpreting and locating human and social interactions in an indeterminate and rapidly changing ethos, Moore (1965).

Following further developments between the thirties and fifties there emerged 'the objectives model' of testing. This consisted of specifying objectives for different subject areas and formulating achievement tests to assess whether or not these objectives had been attained.

Tyler (1950), Bloom et al. (1956), Krathwhol et al. (1964), Bloom et al. (1971), Glaser (1965), Grobman (1968), Mager (1962) (1973) demonstrate attempts either to draw up taxonomies of educational objectives for use in classroom or to indicate further how the specification was to be done.

A further proliferation of tests brought their construction and use into the classroom and put the techniques of testing into the hands of ordinary teachers. In the fifties, sixties and seventies manuals for teacher use appeared in some numbers in a swing to improve the testing skills of teachers. Ahmann and Glock (1975), Baurnfeind (1963), Beggs and Lewis (1975), Bertrand and Cebula (1980), Brown (1976), Ebel (1965), Gronlund (1981), Hopkins and Stanley (1981), Ingenkamp (1977), Marshall and Hales (1971), Pidgeon and Yates (1968), Spooncer (1983), Thorndike

and Hagan (1961), Thorndike (1971), Tuckman (1975) are all manuals for more general construction and use of achievement and attainment testing, some of the more durable examples undergoing several editions. They follow the general pattern laid down in such classics as Dressel and Mayhew (1954), Dressel et al. (1961), Lindguist (1951), Mehrens and Ebel (1967), Tyler (1934), and Wrightstone (1956).

Later a refinement of the 'objectives model' was developed. This allowed for the deflection of the testing process downwards through units course as specific tasks for mastery were identified and assessed. this "mastery learning formative evaluation", Bloom et al. (1971) Bloom et al. (1976), Bloom et al. (1981), has analogies in military, airline and other training, and in machine-based teaching, Glaser (1965). It is referenced according to set criteria for mastery. The approach is now well attested in the testing and evaluation literature. Baker and Quellmalz (1980), Berk (1980), Davis (1964), Frith and McIntosh (1984), Greenbaum et al. (1977), Guerin and Maier (1983), Karmel and Karmel (1978), Popham (1974), (1981), Torshen, (1977) all deal with criterion-referenced testing distinguishing it from norm-referenced testing. The former mode is preferred as it gives the student, teacher and parent a better view of the task to be performed and the mastery attained. This test is referenced to a defined behavioural domain, whereas a norm-referenced test is defined relatively with respect to the other individuals on that test.

Torshen (1977) considers that one of the major advantages of this form of testing is the amplitude of access it offers to performance information. There is accuracy of teacher expectation, realism in student expectation, persistent active participation and responsibility for performance and high positive effective consequences.

The testing movement reverberated on the other side of the Atlantic as well. Relevant both to the development of examining boards, Earnshaw (1974), and to the growth of testing, Nuttall and Willmott (1972), in Great Britain was not only the question of standardisation, Earnshaw (1974), but the validity of the marking system, Hartog and Rhodes (1935), Connaughten (1969). Heywood had successfully developed and monitored a system of assessment for course work in engineering science in England and Wales, Heywood and Kelly (1973). When he came to Ireland in 1972 he was fully conversant with the JMB's successful involvement of teachers in objective testing methods and with the attendant testing technology. He set about mounting a similar operation in Ireland, Heywood (1981).

1.2.2. New approaches to the development of curricula

The problems investigated in this thesis all occurred in curriculum development projects, relatively new phenomena springing from the so-called Curriculum Reform Movement. Again, familiarity with the considerable body of literature that has come from this movement greatly facilitated my own understanding of what occurred in the selected projects.

This literature is best presented historically charting the emergence of determining conditions under which the new ethnographic evaluation found itself operating. Tyler and associates, Smith and Tyler (1942), had begun in the 1930's a major curriculum movement in the U.S. which was to have profound effect on U.S. curriculum and, more recently, on curriculum in the European context. The original concern was to bring standards in High School education into better alignment with those of Colleges and Universities.

The primary research was sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation and the General Education Board. It was promoted by the Progressive Education Association, and the Commission on the Relation of School and College, and took place in twenty nine High Schools, nation-wide. Tyler, who directed the research, had a large and formidable working staff.

The purposes of the research were to devise ways of 1. evaluating the effectiveness of teaching institutions, 2. validating their basic hypotheses, 3. providing information for effective guidance, 4. broadening the psychological scope of school ethos and 5. providing a sound basis for public relations. A perusal of the basic assumptions of the research, Smith Tyler (1942) p.11, would convince that a genuine attempt was being made to do full justice to the broad range and complexity of the high school educational process, so that, in origin at least, the research that gave rise to the "objectives model", cannot be said to have been either narrow or restrictive, hence anti-educational in scope. That stricture occurred because of a later subsumption.

The "eight year study" as it came to be known, had a considerable influence on the development of curriculum thinking Tyler (1956), Taba (1962), Klubard (1974) became classics in the field. The influence of Bloom on curriculum, through his development of the 'objectives model' previously adverted to, had also been considerable in the field, Davies (1976).

The eight year study was largely confined to the traditional humanities and science curricula. Later Bruner (1967) devised his Man, A Course of Study curriculum which focussed on the understanding of its subject through using skills of sociological and physical science, Jenkins (1976). With the advent of Sputnik came a boost in the sixties to science curricula in the U.S., Tanner and Tanner (1980), based on

techniques of inquiry. In the U.K. Schools Council and Nuffield Foundation resources saw a growth in curriculum development,largely at second level.

These and other similar improvements offered an implicit or an explicit challenge to the 'objectives' model' as a curriculum device. Increasing ranges of skills for development demanded wider sophistication in the interpretation of objectives. Some developments such as the Humanities Curriculum Development in the U.K., Stenhouse (1968), would have nothing to do with objectives at all, and devised alternatives such as 'process model' research and development.

1.2.3. Problem origins: early identification of shortcomings

The relevance of the testing movement to the specific issues addressed in this study does not derive from its direct social and political consequences, but indirectly from its more manifest inadequacies as these historically unfolded, especially in the United States.

There were direct social and political consequences and reactions. These involved students, Henry and Richley (1963) p.106, parents, ibid. p.118, teachers and administrators, ibid. p.115. Coaching for students taking external tests was prevalent, directly shaping curriculum practise and teachers' decisions concerning what should be taught, (Tyler 1959). In counselling where tests were used, Goldman (1961), there was discernible a general shifting of responsibility for decisions from student to counsellor, Henry and Richley (1963) p.141. There was widespread disinterest among adolescents in particular, in a test accredited education, largely perceived as socially irrelevant, Coleman (1961) (1965). The emphasis testing brought to education drew profound idealogical opposition, Callaghan (1962), Cremin (1976), Everhart (1983).

More emphatic than other social and political reactions however, and perhaps underlying all of them, was the negative and restrictive impact of testing on curriculum, and the lack of relevance of testing to school administration. On the latter point Cronbach (1963) points out that abuses in the use of testing had led to an emphasis away from educational to budgetary concerns, David (1975).

On the former point he argues that precision in testing had been largely concerned with the replication of factual knowledge and with the mastery of fundamental skills. The implications for teaching were obvious. Unlike Rice, c.f. Graham (1966), "that famous muckmaker", who used tests to promote curricular revision, the testing movement had consolidated inferior teaching practice, Cronbach (1963). He points to the experiments of Tyler and Lindguist, Lindguist (1951), to show that tests can be devised to test more general comprehensions of scientific method (ibid.). The emphases on method in new science curricula would seem to have needed evaluation of more general competences, Cronbach (1963).

Cronbach (1963) states that achievement testing in schools had its greatest expansion in the 1920's, c.f. Ayres (1918), Judd (1936), when the content of courses was taken much for granted. Tests at this time were used to test the efficiency of school systems and of teachers. When used injudiciously in the 1930's Cronbach (1963) averrs this usage fell into disrepute and since then tests were used

> "almost exclusively for judgements about individuals - to select students for advanced training, to assign marks within a class, and to diagnose competencies and deficiencies." (ibid.)

He would concur that making scores precise was the main concern of the testing fraternity though he concludes that there was less complacency about validity. Thus the differentiation what was termed 'of aptitude' and 'attainment' between individuals was of more crucial concern to whether a test actually tested what it purported to do.

1.3. The adoption of an 'alternative' evaluation process

The research problem of the thesis was discerned, as such, in experiences related to an 'alternative' tradition of evaluation that to an extent replaced the 'objectives model'. Two important steps in the development of this tradition are noted in the literature. Firstly, the established model, specifying objectives as central, was rejected by some evaluators as inadequate. Secondly, these evaluators turned to the social sciences, critical arts, and other analogues for "guiding" replacement methodologies. The logic of the problem investigated in the thesis has a number of features that can be directly traced to these roots, and familiarity with the associated body of literature, although it is a little untidy and not always susceptible to clear analysis is nevertheless important.

1.3.1. The rejection of the established model

The main reasons for the rejection of the 'objectives model' was broadly on account of a demonstrated inadequacy to meet all of the aspirations that reasonably might be placed on it, by some evaluators were (1) that it was not able to adequately ascribe objectives to complex mental and artistic processes, Eisner (1969) (2) it could say nothing about classroom procedures and had little use in redefining and improving teaching practice, Stenhouse (1975), (3) it was too narrowly based on an agricultural analogy and did not allow for the psychological and social

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dimensions of human development, Parlett and Hamilton (1972), (4) it was anti-democratic and limiting in its purpose and functioning, Popham (1974).

Atkin (1963), Cook and Reichardt (1979), Crittenden (1978), Cronbach (1963), (1975), Cronbach et.al.(1980), Donmoyer (1979), Eggleston and Galton (1976), Eisner (1967), (1969), (1972), (1976), (1977), (1979)a, (1979)b, Fraser (1977), Guba (1978), House (1980), Jenkins et al (1979), Kemmis (1980), Parlett and Hamilton (1972), Parlett and Deardon (1977), Rist (1977), Rose and Nyre (1977), Rossi and Wright (1977), Smith and Fraser (1980), Smith (1978), Stake (1967), (1972), (1975)a (1975)b, (1976) Stake and Easley (1978), Stanford (1976), Stenhouse (1975), Stufflebeam (1969), (1971), Stufflebeam et al. (1971) Walberg (1970)a, Walker (1974), (MacDonald and) Walker (1975), Weiss (1972), Welch (1974), Westbury (1970)a Whitfield (1974), Whitfield and Kerr (1970), Willis (1978), all offer in varied contexts similar criticisms of the methodology of the objectives model. There is not much variation in the critique, although different authors call the model by different names, and offer different classifications of their criticisms, e.g. Jenkins et al. (1979).

1.3.2. The employment of guiding methodologies in ethnographic evaluation derived fromthe social sciences, criticism and the creative arts

It is arguable that the adoption of unfamiliar methodological analogies contributed greatly to the emergence of 'pathological' responses to curriculum evaluation products. An extensive literature has

emerged over recent years dealing with the actual conduct of educational investigation by curriculum evaluators. Once again this literature is crucial to a full understanding of the problem instances investigated in this thesis.

Ethnographic case study, was popular among evaluators who turned to the social sciences for metaphors to guide them in their quest for new methodologies. It consists in an analysis of social systems using techniques of observation and interview. Simons (1980). This approach underlies the countenance and portrayal model, Stake (1967) (1972), Kemmis (1977), "illuminative" evaluation, Parlett and Hamilton (1972), goal free evaluation, Scriven (1972), and the self reflection approach, Elliott (1976).

The critical arts underlie such approaches as Eisner's (1972) connoisseurship and criticism, and literary criticism, Willis (1978). Among other areas that evaluation 'bought into' in this way were law, Wolf (1975), politics, MacDonald (1976) and psychology, Rippey (1973. This outbreak of new borrowings was contagious. A plethora of models so devised is evident in the literature.

Thus the adversary or judicial model, Owens (1973), Popham and Carlson (1977), Thurston (1978), Wolf (1975) (1979)a, Worthen and Rogers (1977); the case study approach Feherenbacher, Owens and Haenn (1976), Norris (1977), Shaw (1978), Simons (1980), Smith (1978), Stake and Easley (1978), Walker (1974), (MacDonald and) Walker (1975); the context, input, process, product model, Stufflebeam (1969), (1974); the connoiseurship and criticism approach, Donmoyer (1979), Eisner (1972), (1976), (1977) (1979)a, (1979)b, (1981); the countenance model Stake (1967); democratic evaluation, MacDonald (1976); discrepancy evaluation, Provus (1969), (1971), (1972); the ethnographic approach, Denny (1978),

Goetz and Lecompte (1980), Smith (1978); goal free evaluation, Scriven (1972), (1973); structured evaluation Hammond (1972); illuminative evaluation Crittenden (1978), Hamilton et al. (1977), Parlett and Hamilton (1972), Parsons (1976), Whitfield (1974); investigative reporting Guba (1979); literary criticism Kelly (1975), Willis (1978); the multiple criterion paradigm Metfessel and Michael (1967)a (1967)b; naturalistic evaluation Apple, Subkoviak, Lufler (1974), Guba (1978), Wolf (1979)b; the portrayal approach Hall (1979), Kemmis (1977), Stake (1972), (1975)a, (1975)b, (1976), (1979) product development Sanders and Cunningham (1973)a; self reflection approach Elliott (1976-1977), (1978), (1981) Elliott and Adelman (1975), Harlen (1978), Kemmis (1980), Kemmis and Hughes (1979), Scheyer (1975-1976), Scheyer and Stake (1976) Stenhouse (1975); theoretical evaluation Brownell (1966); transactional evaluation Rippey (1973); Walberg's model for research on instruction Walberg (1970)b, (1971); all illustrate the flowering by which the 'alternative' tradition produced methodologies more suitable to new perceptions of the craft of evaluation.

The models that have developed to explicate a methodology for evaluation have been arranged into various schemes for classification.

Hamilton (1977)a, offers a contextual/historical arrangement in accordance with the origins and contexts out of which the various models arose.

Curriculum Development Centre (1977), Gardner (1977), Jenkins (1976), Locatis (1979), Popham (1975), Rose and Nyre (1977), Worthen and Sanders (1973) give a method/descriptive framework. Each method is categorised according to the guiding method from which it derives, e.g.

ethnographic, literary etc. and descriptions are given severally.

House (1978) groups the models according to an underlying "objectivist" or "subjectivist" epistimology. His other work elaborates this distinction. What he calls the "logic of evaluative argument" and the "coherence and credibility of evaluative aesthetics" substitute intuition and persuasion for classical demonstration.

1.4. Problematic areas dealt with in the literature concerning the 'alternative' tradition

The problems central to cases discussed in this thesis occurred in and around activities that for a variety of reasons had already been identified as potentially problematic. Many of these problems, without proper analysis might become confounded as treatment effects with those explored in the thesis. The central task of this thesis, to identify necessary and sufficient conditions for the emergence of APM-type reactions to curriculum evaluation products, requires that the particular problem posed be separated out from the 'noise' of other problems and issues pertaining to case study, ethnography, the new evaluation or whatever. This is done in the text in part by disentangling to some extent the various problem configurations. It is for this reason that familiarity with the general literature charting the 'alternative' tradition became crucial.

Our assertion is not that the problems may necessarily belong in the 'alternative' tradition solely. There is evidence to show that they existed in the more classical objectives tradition too. It is rather

that they became more obvious, the more obviously the new tradition began to bight into sensitive areas already problematic in themselves. This section of our review of literature documents what was known about this evaluative difficulty either before, or, more probably as the questions arose. Some of these are still matters of controversy.

Chosen aspects from the literature of the new methodology ground the problem setting. Although reasonably comprehensive within the limits set by this review, they represent a salient rather than an exhaustive selection of key issues. Also, the style of presentation is more discursive than hitherto as a proper insight into its key elements is crucial to an understanding of the thesis problem.

1.4.1. The ethnographic aspect of the 'alternative' tradition of curriculum evaluation

Our first task is to look for statements that define and deal with educational process neglected by the "rejected" evaluation tradition. The areas we search are large but their allusion enables progressive homings to the critical points at issue.

Smith and Keith (1971) provide an interesting and influential example of the then emergent "ethnographic" methodology used to illuminate school settings. Based on grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) its emphasis on systems models is expressly derived from Becker's (1958) analysis of inference and proof in participant observation.

The case study deals with an elementary school as an example of a changing organisational structure. Conducting their study with ethnographic observation techniques, (the ground), the authors concen-

trated on concepts, some borrowed from their subjects, some put together from analyses of their own, which gave mental pictures of the school as a changing/developing system. They linked these concepts into hypothetical patterns, explanatory conjugates. What emerged from the study was a kind of mega-construct, a functional/dysfunctional model of anticipated or unanticipated expectations which proved malleable or otherwise to decision and action.

The method involves producing theories which represent in "formulations" the complexity of operative social schemes. While these are largely descriptions or explanations, the basic dichotomy which Smith and Keith disclose, between expectations and realisations is central to programme evaluation. The gap is what curriculum development is all about. And evaluation, the new version, was partly concerned with providing some enabling discourse for closing it.

Stake (1967) posed the dilemma within an interesting and challenging framework. He felt that that "diverse purposes and judgements"of the (teaching) practitioner should be depicted as "contingencies" among background conditions, classroom activities and scholastic outcomes. He defined these areas as <u>antecedents</u>, <u>transactions</u> and <u>outcomes</u>.

Stake's evaluation model is different from that of Smith and Keith. It offers more than a descriptive or conceptual formulation of "what happens." There is an important distinction drawn between <u>intended</u> antecedents, transactions and outcomes which have "logical contingency", and <u>observed</u> data of the same, having "empirical contingency."

This distinction establishes a ground for congruence between stated intentions and empirically observed effects. It provides a base for bringing the logical intents more into line with the real strokes of the educational practitioner's art. Stake (1972) underscores this 'responsiveness' of evaluation. He emphasises observed actualities and

activities, operative value - orientations and the information needs of different audiences. As empirically observed features he accords them more weight than programme intents which in his view they are more like to chasten.

Stake's (1974) 'portrayals' nonetheless, while attending to the dynamics of the evaluation situation, as reportage comes close enough to the formulations of the grounded theorists. In this his approach is not dissimilar to that of Parlett and Hamilton (1972). Their "illuminative" model is justly regarded as one of the most comprehensive statements of an ethnographic approach to programme evaluation. It goes through most of the relevant systems and subsystems of 'the works', includes all of the methods for data collection and nearly all of the subjects ("students, instructors, administrators and others"). The object being a well grounded ethno-account. The model has had considerable if not decisive influence on at least some aspects of programme evaluation.

Parlett and Hamilton drew a distinction similar to Stake's between programme intentions "the instructional system" or curriculum plan being introduced, and the learning milieu which is the material psycho-social arena "in which students and teachers work together" to develop the programme in question. In this situation of quasi assimilation or rendition the often unintended consequences retroact on the programme itself "changing its form and moderating its impact." Thus they also are aware of the dichotomies if not the discrepancies between programme goals and the realities of implementation.

Scriven (1972) (1973) advocated "goal free" evaluation in an effort to decontaminate evaluation entirely from the rationale, assumptions or goals of the authors or implementors of the programme. This "Mr. Clean" type of evaluation regards what happens in the classroom as paramount.

What happens in the emporia of programme peddlars, is seen to matter as little as what schemes and contrivances teachers might use in joining contest with the work situation.

This refreshing splashdown into "real life", while it does much to demythologise the field of programme evaluation, Kaner (1973), replicates with different emphasis, but does not meet the implicit dilemma posed by Stake, the problematic "congruence" between intents and programme effects. Later "action research" methodology, - teachers testing out educational hypotheses in the classroom, - Stenhouse (1975), represented the other side of the evaluation coin, an emphasis on intentionality with feedback through experiment and trial. The problem with both approaches is that they each attempt an explanatory/descriptive account of what is basically a deliberative process. The same is true of "case study" type evaluations generally. This unresolved dilemma is central to our study. Theoretical explanations, case studies, may have uses in the discovery and solution of practical curriculum development problems. This presumably is what their illuminative function is about. But their insights may best be seen as policy determinants, aids with an already self-critical decision making process.

1.4.2. The "ethics" of case study

As the thesis deals principally with circumstances in which evaluation products are liable to be open to explicit challenge, denial or disavowal it is unsurprising that one of the issues that found its way to the table was the proper conduct of the investigation, what the evaluator might or might not legitimately assert, and what (if any)) were the 'rights' to this subject to investigation. The underlying issues are

best brought to some kind of cognitive order by reference to the ideas 'methodological morality' found in a growing body of literature dealing with 'the ethics of case study'.

As stated when laying out the argument for the thesis at the outset of this chapter, the Aggregate Pathology Model (APM) is central to the definition of the thesis problem. The APM formulates in terms almost of a pure-form statement that might arise during the course an evaluation. There is a useful informative literature, indicating that these difficulties may not just arise simply from the conduct of an evaluation but that the methods used themselves are also potentially problematic. By definition, ethnographic evaluation is a job conducted in private, but for a public forum.

The underlying problem has been variously discussed in the literature. SAFARI-Project (Ed.) (1974), Norris (1977), Simons (1980), Adelman (1984) contain collections of papers by different authors outlining issues surrounding interfaces between the researcher's right to know and to tell, and the subject's right to the privacy of his world, his right to fairness relevance and accuracy in the researcher's account.

MacDonald (1976) pursuing his view of evaluation as a democratic process mediating between these rights sees confidentiality, negotiation and accessibility as the key ploys of the researcher in the process. Walker (ibid) sees this process as both facilitating the researcher and protecting his subjects by establishing a system of co-ownership of the data.

Jenkins et al. in Norris, (1980) a, however show that in the pressures of meeting deadlines with reports and in the confusion of other constraints, the researcher can be hindered in honouring commitments to

confidants. Nevertheless he ends up in a relatively strong position, having already obtained access to the data. A more perfunctory performance of his agreed obligations to his confidants may ensue.

Jenkins concludes, (1980)b, that the power position for negotiation after access rapidly changes. The researcher who wants to know becomes a knower with sensitive data "who wants to tell." He concludes that in most evaluative situations the researcher, because of former experience of the byplay and of the once off 'hot' nature of his work, always has the tactical advantage in what Jenkins regards not as an ethical problem but as a technical one, that of gaining access to and publishing data.

Simons and McAllister in Adelman (1984), demonstrate that there are legal aspects to this dilemma as well, and Simons in her "Guidelines" for the conduct of an independent evaluation (ibid) lays down four negotiating principles, independency, impartiality, confidentiality, and consultations and complicated procedures for making them stick.

Stenhouse (ibid), would question whether, given the structured unfairness of the evaluator's knowledge advantage, there should be such a thing as an independent evaluation at all.

1.4.3. Personal portrayals

Most of the evaluations considered in this thesis to a greater or a less extent accept the legitimacy of portrayal of persons as legitimate evaluation data. The problem of personal portrayals is a controverted one in evaluation literature. An incident related from it may demonstrate the acuteness of the dilemma of this particular form of ethnographic or literary reportage.

Much of this literature is itself anecdotal as well as reflective, and suggests that there may be some parallel of problem configuration with documentary film making. For example MacDonald, in Norris (1977),

describes a documentary film study of a school, as broadcast on national television. In it a teacher's work with a difficult class of adolescents was "remorselessly" but "objectively" portrayed. The film gave him a feeling of sympathy for the teacher, and a sense of her commitment. It also made him aware of her professional problems. He felt admiration for her agreeing to expose her experiences to a wider audience. Some months after the performance went out, the teacher was subjected to a barrage of criticism for alleged incompetence, and was on the verge of a breakdown.

The theoretical rationale for the evaluative use of personal accounts has been given by Eisner (1975)(1976)(1977). It argues need to re-educate perception. Eisner distinguishes "thick" and "thin" interpretations, the former giving a fuller account of the complexity of the real-life situations in which teaching takes place - "a cultural network saturated with meaning."

Walker (1976) stresses the importance of "portraying the perceptions feelings and responses of identifiable individuals" in certain situations. Stake (1972) suggests the need to give to others the sense of immediacy in 'vicarious experience' of real life situations. House (1972), Kemmis (1977) and Cronbach (1975) quoted by MacDonald in Norris (1977) have also contributed to the theory and practice of "hands on" evaluative portrayals.

Willis (1978) and Burgess (1984) contain examples of evaluative portraiture. The differences between investigative journalism and literary criticism-type evaluation have been studied in Guba (1979) and Kelly (1975) and in Willis' introduction (1978).

MacDonald (1977) argues for the use (despite obvious pitfalls) of personal portrayals on the ground that such evaluations are necessary for judgements about the effectiveness of programmes, and for faithful comment on the efforts of individuals, often coping with difficult

situations. He contends that such insights are in use anyway as gossip, and that evaluators can give them a degree of professionalism and insight not normally available to decision makers. He would eschew the journalistic form of reporting which "mercilessly exposes vulnerable personalities, substitutes accuracy for truth, denies privacy and processes persons for emotional consumption without any regard for the consequences."

Eisner (1976)(1977) would agree that competent educational reportage requires more skill than good journalism or novel writing.

1.4.4. The politics of evaluation reporting

Evaluation reports are never politically neutral, and are launched like ships into a sea that may be calm or stormy, benign or raked with cross currents. To some extent this world into which evaluation reports go, however idiosyncratic or potentially volatile, is subject at least to tentative weather reports. Indeed there is a growing literature dealing with the kind of underlying assumptions of circumstance and role that attend evaluation reports. Again this literature is important to any sophisticated understanding of the central problems investigated in these pages.

Decisions are made from the standpoint of collective or individual policy or value. Evaluation reports may question such orientations. And for this reason they are sometimes ignored, sometimes contended. Thus the politics of evaluative reporting is a question of use, the negotiation of crucial meanings in the area of policy and decision.

One aspect of the problem that has attracted a substantial literature is the question of 'audiences' for an evaluation report. Should the evaluator report to a consultative and client-centred brief, or has he obligations to a wider public? Various solutions are canvassed

in the literature. Alkin (1975), Alkin, Daillak and White (1979), Alkin (1980), Anderson and Ball (1978), Caro (1971), Guba (1975), Weiss (1972) pose utilisation as inherently problematic in evaluation. Various explanations for discontinuities in the use of evaluation reports have been offered. Stenhouse (1975) following Dalin (1973) identifies resistance to change, gaps in communication, value conflicts, power conflicts and conflicts over practice as central to problems of utilisation. Weiss (1972) characterises evaluation as a distinct form of inquiry with inherent methodological problems relating to the social context of its work. Jamieson (1984) has a similar viewpoint.

Another theme explored in the literature is the possibility of an explicit political analysis of evaluation roles. MacDonald (1971) distinguishes bureaucratic, autocratic and democratic evaluation, depending on whether it addresses an administrative, a select and expert or a general public audience. He associates evaluation with issues of educational control, MacDonald (1976), calling for a less centralised, more open flow of evaluative information to widen the distribution of political power over education. He shows how impervious certain education bureaucracies are to more democratic forms of evaluation, how yet demanding of such expression it being politically advantageous in their situation, MacDonald (1981).

Cohen (1970), Goldberg (1971), MacDonald (1976), (1981), Weiss, Truening and Guttentag (1975) Stufflebaum and Webster (1980) also underlne the political and social realities of evaluative research and their problematic nature. Stufflebeam and Webster (1980) break down evaluation products into politically-oriented, question-oriented and value-oriented studies. They end by warning evaluators of the difficulties they might encounter if their own perceptions of an evaluation differ from those of the client or audience.

Another body of literature clearly crucial to the investigation in this thesis is that charting the increasing redefinition of curriculum evaluation activity as policy related research. Not least this movement registers the suspicion that there might be a growing mismatch between style of reportage (ethnographic portrayal) and the information needs as perceived by policy makers particularly at national level. The literature charting this area operated not infrequently itself within a set of assumptions that might be considered bureaucratic, or systemic.

For example in an earlier work Stufflebeam (1971) identified problem areas in developing a theory of educational evaluation as policy related research. He posed as a central issue the absence of an adequate decision-making theory that would establish evaluation criteria, provide an interface role between evaluators and decision makers, and create a rationale for data collection, its storage, organisation and analysis.

There is an interesting example of an approach within this 'managerial' stance to a pathology of misadaptation not unlike the APM. Stufflebeam (ibid) characterises evaluation "illness" as an inability to make its mark in a political context. He identifies eight symptoms. These include anxiety, immobilisation, misadvice and scepticism. He finds it inadequate for the job, lacking personnel, instruments and guidelines.

He considers that in the absence of a methodology of its own evaluation has adopted the methods of classical science, a fact which he deems causes some of the symptoms of evaluation's illness. He advances stages in the decision making process and constructs a model more directly related to decision making and policy. This context, Input, Process and Product CIPP model addresses decision making problems at different stages in the development of a curriculum project. (ibid.)

House (1980) attempts to derive the political and moral principles on which an evaluation should be built. House cites MacDonald (1976) in arguing that to be democratically and morally acceptable, evaluative choices must be extended to all participating groups and to all public choices. He considers it necessary to expand the types of data collected, and to focus evaluation on higher levels of decision making by extending audiences and reference groups and by extending choice to include the method of evaluation itself. Later (ch. 9) he establishes four moral values, equality, antonomy, impartiality and reciprocity on which evaluative choices are to be made.

1.4.5. The function of evaluation products

Evaluation products, whether interim or final, whether intended as stimulus or a response, can be perceived as having a function. Around this notion of possible function has grown a literature that is perhaps limited in scope, and at times misguided, but is nevertheless clearly focussed on an area critical to this study. Indeed one version of the APM might be that it reflects the latent as opposed to the manifest function of the curriculum evaluation report.

The literature is, however, divided on some important points. Evaluation is at times looked at as providing a catalyst that closes the gap between the grand plan and its actualisation, sometimes an auditing exercise that renders an account to the sponsors on their moneys worth. Both versions are capable of supporting explanations of the pathological reactions observed, yet the accounts are subtly different.

Another relevant distinction found in the literature is that proposed by Scriven between formative (feedback and guide) and summative (overall appraisal) functions. Stake (1972) defined the methodological

aims behind the disjunction. Whereas formative evaluation requires generalised conclusions of universal application, summative evaluation demands particular conclusions applicable to a single instance only.

Formative evaluation in curriculum development largely concerns the practice of teachers in classrooms, its improvement in conformity with aims and standards set by the programme. McNeil and Popham (1973) contains an extensive compilation of methods for the assessment of teacher competencies. Some of these, e.g. Flanders (1970) are reviewed by Stenhouse (1975). He also discusses the criticisms and work in classroom observation of Walker (1971), Walker and Adelman (1972) Hamilton (1973), Hamilton and Delamont (1974) and Elliott and Adelman (1973).

Stenhouse's (1975) conclusions are of some relevance to formative curriculum evaluation. He agrees with Harlen (1975) who criticised the uses of objective testing in formative evaluation. Stenhouse favours rather ethnographic work with teachers in the classroom. In his view it should not stop short at technical observation. The researcher, he advises, should ask questions of and make suggestions to teachers. He expects the researcher to provide support for the form of question and dialogue between articulations of the curriculum plan and classroom practice. This he classifies as teacher research, the core, to him, of the curriculum development project.

Stenhouse (1984) rejects the notion of independent summative evaluation altogether. His reason, apart from what he claims are spurious pretentions to objectivity divorced from practice, is that the evaluator gains so much profit from, and power over, the ideas of the curriculum researcher/developer, "that no curriculum researcher is likely to take up that contract twice." The implication is that the independent evaluator can write about, disseminate and develop the views of the

person creating the programme (in Stenhouse's phraeseology the researcher) to a point where he virtually takes it over and controls it. This tension is also marked in Stufflebeam's (1971) analysis, though, to him, it redounds to the disadvantage of the evaluation. Jamieson's (1984) view that evaluation is chained research echoes the same concern.

A form of evaluation which is particularly associated with anxieties and pathological reactions is Step-Funding Evaluation. This requires an evaluation report in the middle term of a project's development, on which depends further project funding. For example, Adelman (1980) faced with difficulties in a study of colleges undergoing diversification in Berkshire, found the idea of step-funding particularly difficult for the evaluation. It put constraints on him to produce a report at a time when he was having serious methodological problems with his work.

1.4.5. Deliberative theory

Another important body of literature comes out. Various attempts to model the kind of course appropriate for taking decisions that involve an exercise of judgement in practical fields. It is one of the central contentions of this thesis that one of the necessary and sufficient conditions for the emergence of APM type reactions is that evaluation exercises are conducted in breach of Schwab's strictures for conduct of the art of the practical Schwab (1970).

The fine tracery of the argument in the thesis does not need to be anticipated here. The present purpose is to indicate the critical importance to the argument of the thesis of the literature emerging from Schwab and like-minded theorists that has been collected under the rubric of 'deliberative theory' Reid (1981).

Schwab's ideas are significant in that not only do they help us define the problem of method lying at the heart of the risk of APM reactions, but also offer a potential line of argument towards a solution.

Joseph Schwab, ideas and influence

Deliberative theory as a ground for curricular thought was elaborated by Schwab in the early 1970's. His seminal paper The Practical: a Language for Curriculum was published by the National Education Association, Center for the Study of Instruction, (1970).

This began with a statement, now famous, that the field of curriculum was moribund, unable to continue its work and contribute significantly to education. "Inveterate, unexamined and mistaken reliant on theory" was what Schwab saw as the reason for the unhappy state of the discipline. He drew a sharp distinction between the theoretical and the practical forms of thought. He found them radically different as regards method, problems and subject matter. The end or outcome of the theoretic, Schwab holds, is general or universal truth that is valid for a long time. Whereas the practical is directed to a decision, "a selection and guide for possible action." It is thus limited to the case for which it was sought.

The subject matter of the theoretic is extensive universal or pervasive and is investigated as if it were constant. The subject matter of the practical is concrete and particular, susceptible to circumstance and liable to change.

The problems of the theoretic arise from states of mind, "marked out by what we already know as areas which we do not know." The problems of the practical on the other hand "arises from states of affairs in relation to ourselves," "that hurt and deprive and that we wish were different."

The difference in method Schwab sees as also radical. Theoretic methods are characterised by a theoretic principle. The direction in which the enquiry is to go, and what is to be done with collected data are dictated by the guiding principle.

The practical has no such guide or rule

> "We may be conscious that a problem exists but we do not know what the problem is...
> These matters emerge only as we examine the situation, which seems to be wrong and begin to look, necessarily at random, for what is the matter. The problem slowly emerges, then, as we search for data, and conversely, the search for data is only given direction by the slow formation of the problem."

As the problem emerges the character of the search for data alters. It becomes more a search for solutions and less of a search for the problem.

From these distinctions Schwab works his analysis of the Crisis in curriculum as one of principle or starting point. Because of its vice of abstraction, there is a failure in scope and a radical plurality in the field.

Whereas there should be an application of the arts of the practical, assessment and change, anticipating generation of alternatives and deliberation.

In his Second paper The Practical: Arts of the Electic 1971 Schwab 1978 p.322, he illustrates some traps of theory. Educational assumptions which derive from one theory of the behavioural sciences are often contradicted by those which originate in another. For this reason Schwab advocates an eclectic use of theory, which illuminates the circumstances, but does not supplant the practical.

In his third paper The Practical: Translation into Curriculum (1973) Schwab 1978, p.365, the author outlines a methods of translating the disciplines into curriculum form through the five agencies that shape

it, subject matter, learners, teachers, the miliens of education, and the curriculum making itself. He outlines the functions of the curriculum specialist who can make it happen.

Recently Schwab has produced a further paper The Practical 4: Something for the Curriculum Professor to do, Schwab (1983). By contrast with the three other "theoretical" papers on the practical, this is characterised by a "practical" paper on the practical, outlining what professors of education should do about developing curriculum. This came as a result of publicity given to Schwab's theory of the 'practical' by notable friends and colleagues. These include Reid, University of Birmingham cf. Reid (1981). Schwab's Practical 4 was commented on in Tyler (1984), Reid (1984), Garver (1984), Shulman (1984), Eisner (1984), Schwartz (1984), Fox (1984).

Schwab's influence on curriculum theory has been not inconsiderable. O'Connor (1981) describes some of the issues which his theory of "the practical" raised in the University of Chicago when it first appeared. Westbury (1970b) first of all grappled with the idea of the practical as language, and later with the implications of Schwab's theory in particular as these related to classroom teaching and to the structure of innovations Westbury (1970a), (1972), (1977). Reid (1975) put together a series of case studies dealing with the administration of innovation, the evaluation of art education, and classroom innovation very redolent of Schwab's approach, and has explicated various aspects of Schwab's theory Reid (1975), (1978), (1979a), (1979b), (1979c), (1979d), (1980), (1981), (1983), (1984). Schwab's influence is apparent in a movement towards evaluation as policy and decision related research, Sr ufflebeam (1969), (1971), (1974), (1980), and the observations of and self reflection on classroom processes Stenhouse (1975), Elliott (1976-1977), (1978), (1981), Elliott and Adelman (1975), Harlen (1978),

Kemenis (1979), Scheyer (1975-1976), Scheyer and Stoke (1976). It is obvious in the evaluative processes in innovative movements such as the Centre for New Schools (1973).

Recently there has been something of an upsurge of interest in deliberative studies. Westbury (1983), Anderson (1983), Olson (1983), Harris (1983), and Reid (1983), contributed to a symposium on the subejct of the Journal of Curriculum Studies, Anderson (1979), Orpwood (1985), Pereira (1984), Reid (1978), (1979)a, (1979)b, (1979)c. (1979)d, (1980), (1981), (1983), (1984) (Greig and) Reid (1978), (Meighan and) Reid (1982), Roby (1985), and Westbury (1979)a (1979)b (1982), are signs of awakening interest in aspects of the subject.

Despite this influence, however, as the argument of this thesis reveals, the arts of deliberation and the method of their cultivation, which is central to Schwab's thought, have not been sufficiently understood or practised by the evaluation community, and especially by those who align themselves with the illuminative or ethnographic tradition, Hamilton (1977). A methodology for evaluation on the deliberative model has not yet been devised. With reference to Reid's (1975) collection of case studies Schwab himself in the preface remarks:

> "the recovery and report of deliberations and of tactical judgements constitute a labor of great importance. Only a large and growing body of them will provide us with ground for testing our views of what constitutes better and worse in these critically important arts."

1.5. Social Theory and the Aggregate Pathology Model

The Aggregate Pathology Model of reactions to curriculum evaluation and its identification as a social phenomenon has roots of explanation in certain aspects of social theory. This fact presses into immediate

relevance further bodies of literature that deal with cognate areas and from which it might be reasonably predicted that explanatory concepts might be gleaned.

In some ways it derives from a view of evaluation as uncommon or unusual behaviour. Hence its connection with the social theory of deviance. Secondly, it is a form of competitiveness, a battle over the crucial meanings of forms of curriculum development, hence its assimilation to the theory of conflict. Thirdly, it is associated with core understandings of education as adopted and put in practice by significant groups of persons associated with the teaching profession, thus it has relevance to group reference theory. Fourthly it is concerned with social interaction, and has association with the theory of roles and games.

Finally, the APM originated in chatting among evaluators about aspects of their job. It thus has connection with the social theory of gossip.

1.5.1. Deviance Theory and the APM

Deviance theory has two areas relevant to the APM. The first is the process by which deviant behaviour is typed as such. The second is in the sociology of moral indignation whereby deviants are degraded.

The main reference for deviance is Rubington and Weinberg (1968). According to Kitsuse (1962) the process of typing deviant behaviour has two forms. The first is a judgment that a certain behaviour is rated abnormal, but the person engaging in it is not excluded. Thus the customer is always right, even though his behaviour may pose problems of adaptation for the salesman.

The second form for typing or classifying deviant behaviour as such is when it is seen as positively vitiating the norms which regulate a society. This judgement formally excludes the person engaging in the behaviour from the group to which he otherwise might belong.

These forms of typing deviant behaviour have relevance for interpretations of the APM. An evaluator is represented sometimes as engaging in critical activity which is not seen as common or indeed desirable in a group embarked on a significant and focussed community enterprise.

An evaluator who challenges the assumptions by which group activity is coordinated may sometimes be tolerated. Business as usual.

But when his challenges are forceful and public to the extent and degree that they must be taken seriously, then the evaluator may be dealt with in a different way. Either the group accepts the challenge posed and begins a process of questioning the assumptions being criticised, or else it joins forces and unites to exclude the evaluator as vitiating the fundamentals of its concerns.

One can see these stages at work in various facets of the APM. Rhetorical acceptance or collusion and cooption signal a form of acceptance for the evaluator's role. Rejection and counter denunciation are forms of direct exclusion.

Another body of literature clearly relevant to the central problem of the thesis is a tradition within deviance theory, broadly defined, that deals more explicitly with managing a particular kind of performance the 'degradation ceremony' Garfinkel (1956) As a backwater within the sociology of moral indignation, it was found by the present author to offer safe moorings, as the analysis appears exactly to match the tactics of those smarting for redress when caught in the toils of the pathology.

Garfinkel's analysis of the 'successful' degradation ceremony, although not produced with educational settings in mind, carries all of the distinctions I would wish to make.

The literature suggests a number of hypotheses that the cases put to the test. Among these are that a motive must be found which not only differentiates the evaluator from the group but from the group's previous conception of him, (e.g. mischief making or incompetence). Secondly the degradation must be publicly seen to stick (e.g. renegotiation of contract or worse).

1.5.2. Conflict theory and the APM

Conflict theory concerns individuals or groups in society opposed to each other in a struggle for dominance, Rex (1981). Parsons (1971)(1982)

Of particular relevance to the APM are areas of conflict that involve prevailing myths or ideologies, which govern systematic action, and the elements in society which seek to alter and change them.

The conflict is about different perceptions of the reappraisal. Curriculum development however manifested, eg. MACOS Jenkins (1976) is about new structures for learning Bruner (1968) and Kuhn (1962) and the social processes involved in presenting them. (Jonner and Tanner (1980). A developer may start out with a curriculum or plan of action with which he wishes to transform and improve teaching and learning in a given subject or skill. Since the ideas are new they may be controverted either at the level of the plan or ideology, or at the level of implementation. An evaluator may critically confront the developer at either level. The ensuing conflict may resolve itself into any one of the APM categories which depict the developer as engaged in a <u>flight</u> from

the controversy through cooption and collusion, rhetorical acknowledgement presenting a 'rival' viewpoint, and arguing sensitivities, or a fight for dominance, rejection, counter denunciation, renegotiation.

1.5.3. Reference group theory and the APM

Reference group theory is an attempt to formalise the pattern of affiliation or influence by which individuals use other people as 'significant others' Hyman and Singer (1968).

Curriculum development is itself an attempt to manipulate the reference orientation of others. Conflict in the thesis is often a conflict between assumptions and values held by respective groups. Evaluation questions such orientations. Conflict between him and 'significant others' resolves itself into APM type reactions.

1.5.4. Theories of Social interaction and the APM

Theories of social interaction are attempts to formulate behaviour between individuals or between individuals and groups as expressing the relationship between the conscious and unconscious self. Again we are able to draw on a considerable literature. Goffman (1970)(1971)a (1971)b Borne (1964).

Curriculum development is an attempt to influence role performance, that is to alter the actual conduct of teachers in their position, so as to give different conscious expression to unconscious strivings for better performance.

The developer's role is to effect this alteration according to certain norms. The evaluator's role is to criticise these norms in terms of their effects. This gives rise to complex interactions or social games between the developer, his sponsors and the evaluator over

interpretations of the rightness or wrongness or appropriateness of either the developer's actions or the evaluator's report. The APM could be interpreted as a vivid expression of these games.

1.5.5. The Social Psychology of Gossip

This thesis had its first beginnings when the author began to circulate among some evaluators from the 'world outside' his own experience as an evaluator at Shannon. Although he had made up his mind that the problems he had encountered at Shannon could not have been accidental, a 'once off', an etching burnt in his own memory only, he had no idea how common his experiences had been among other evaluators who had shared the same 'illuminative' evaluation experience.

The Social Psychology of Gossip had been extensively studied. Feller (1976), Fine and Rosnow (1978), Handelman (1973), Ogden and Richards (1927) Rysman (1976), Subs, (1977) seem most relevant to gossip that concerns in-groups of professionals or workers gossiping about their trade.

The first important relevant idea to glean from this extensive body of literature is that such gossip represents a consensus view or a social construct about facts. These concern on-the-job incidents, and reveal personal attitudes and beliefs that relate to the values and rules of the group. Whereas ordinary gossip tends to be normative in the sense that it classifies certain types of behaviour as outside the group norms and indicates disapproval for such conduct, on-the-job gossip is normative in another sense also. While it does indicate approval-disapproval of regular or irregular behaviour, it also tends towards a reflective sense indicating a concern for perspectives and values relevant to the furtherance or non furtherance of the group's "trade".

1.6. The Three Main Projects - A Reader's Guide

Three curriculum development projects figure prominently in the present thesis. These are: The Social and Environmental Studies Project, (SESP) Curriculum Development Centre, Shannon Co. Clare, Republic of Ireland; The Schools Cultural Studies Project, (SCSP) New University of Ulster, Northern Ireland; Understanding Computer Assisted Learning (UNCAL) the evaluation of the National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning, Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia.

Bibliographies of all these projects and others mentioned in the text have been separately appended to the main bibliography. For the interested reader who will not have ready access to most of this material a 'reader's guide' to published work on the three main projects is now given.

1.6.1. A Reader's Guide to Published Literature on the Social and Environmental Studies Project.

The Social and Environmental Studies Project is briefly described along with other Irish Curriculum Development Projects of the Seventies in Tony Crooks' and Jim McKernan's, The Challenge of Change, Dublin: Institute of Public Administration.

Historical aspects of the Curriculum, materials, testing, pedagogy and detailed in Sean O Connor's, "A Preliminary Evaluation of the Teaching of History in the Shannon Environmental Studies Project" in John Heywood's Assessment in History, University of Dublin.

Sean O Connor has given an account of the Evaluation of the Project in, "Aspects of Curriculum Design" Proceedings of the Education Conference, University College, Galway.

The project materials are published by the School and College Services, Dublin. They are entitled as follows:

No Place to Go: A History of Dwellings

Are you Right there Michael: A History of Travel

Footprints in the Sands: The Composition of the Earth, Evolution.

A Soft Day Thank God: Meteriology, mapping.

No Man's Land: A History of the First World War

1.6.2. A Reader's Guide to the published literature on the Schools Cultural Studies Project.

First of all readers may like some contextual reading about the Northern Ireland Conflict situation, and about the educational situation there. A most comprehensive and insightful sociological study is John Darby's Conflict in Northern Ireland: the Development of a Polarised Community, Gill and MacMillan. It contains an extensive bibliography for the further interested reader. Darby also conducted a survey of segregated education in schools in the "Coleraine Triangle" (Coleraine, Port Stewart, Portrush) entitled, Schools Apart, Education Centre, New University of Ulster.

Two other books on other Northern Ireland projects are John Malone and R. Crone's Continuities in Education, NFER, and The Human Curriculum, Farset Cooperative Press. The former volume concerns a curriculum development project directed by John Malone into the community aspects of N.I. secondary education, e.g. local history. The latter concerns the kinds of support needed to encourage better communication between the school and the community groups, e.g. parents in the N.I. setting.

One other background reading contribution deserves special mention, particularly as it regards the special segregated situations of Northern Ireland schools. It is Dominick Murray's Worlds Apart published by the Appletree Press. It is a case study analysis of the author's experiences in different school situations.

Of more direct relevance to SCSP, Tony Crooks' and Jim McKernan's The Challenge of Change, IPA, contains a portrait of the project, and a summary of McKernan's own research into the attitudes of teachers in sectarian situations to cross-cultural education.

Malcolm Skilbeck's 'Culture and Cultural Change' in Compass Journal of the Irish Association for Curriculum Development is a positive paper outlining the social analysis on which SCSP was based. Alan Robinson's The Schools Cultural Studies Project and the Director's Report, is a compendious overall Review of the five years of the project. Published NUM. Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers by David Jenkins and Sean O Connor et al. is the Final Report of the 1977 Independent Evaluation, published NUU. Jenkins has published an Impressionistic account of the evaluation in Robert Burgess' Ten Case Studies 1984, while O Connor's story of the same evaluation is entitled, 'Evaluating an Experiment in Non-sectarian Education in Northern Ireland.' It is published in the Journal of Curriculum Studies, Vol.12, No.3, pp.263-266.

1.6.3. A Reader's guide to the Published Works of Understanding Computer Assisted Learning UNCAL.

For an overall picture of the National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning, Richard Hooper's Director's Report, London: Institute for Educational Technology, is an invaluable and readable account. It contains a discussion of the complex evaluation system of the Programme of which UNCAL the 'educational evaluation' formed a

prominent apart. Chapter 3 "NDPCAL: its Educational Potential" is by the UNCAL evaluation team, and is good summary of the general conclusions of the educational evaluation.

Mid-way through the term of the programme the evaluators produced The Programme at Two (1975) an account by UNCAL of the NDPCAL at that point in the development. There is also a pamphlet An Introduction to UNCAL a CET information leaflet.

As will be seen from the UNCAL bibliography there is an extended and varied list of publications by members of the project team. From the point of view of the problem discussed in this thesis three of these are noteworthy.

The first is by Barry MacDonald entitled "The Portrayal of Persons as Evaluation Data". This appears in Safari Interim Papers 2 Theory into Practice edited by Nigel Norris. This is an interesting exposition of one of the most hotly controverted aspects of the evaluation and makes compelling reading. In the same publication another paper, by Jenkins, D. Kemmis, S. and Atkins, three of the UNCAL evaluators, concerns some of the problems encountered by the team in implementing the democratic procedures for negotiating reports.

David Jenkins' 'Business as Unusual' is an account of the London Business School, which housed one of the projects of the NDPCAL. This is a very good example of literary, impressionistic portrayal. Apart from being a good read, also instructive about the merits and limitations of this form of reportage. It is in Willis G. ed. Qualitative Evaluation. McCutchan, 1978. Also worthy of special mention in the context of 'Evaluation for Decision Makers', is Rod Atkins discussion of isomorphism pluralism and power, oft recurring themes in this thesis. It is also found in Norris' Safari Papers II.

2. THE SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL STUDIES PROJECT (SESP): A CASE STUDY IN THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REACTIONS TO THE EVALUATION PRODUCT

2.1.1. Introduction

The structure of this thesis follows the natural history of the research out of which it arose. The opening chapter therefore brings the problem to light in context. It attempts a reconstruction-in-origin of evaluation difficulties, social and political, as they actually occurred on a site. No concerted attempt is made to explain or otherwise amplify the questions posed by these happenings. They are presented simply and without qualification. The only comment allowed recapitulates thoughts and feelings that might have occurred to the author at the time. The portrayal of the SESP evaluation therefore merely attempts to tell it like it was. The events described are but heralds later subsumed into an analytic framework which unfolded as their significance, reflected on in conjunction with other evaluation experiences, gradually became apparent.

2.1.2. Overview

This chapter reviews the problems of the SESP evaluation and the kinds of social and political reactions which were experienced during it.

After an initial review of SESP and its evaluation arrangements each of the evaluator's reports is described. There were five such products in all, each of which was followed by varied reactions, social and political in nature. These had significant, even profound repercussions on the conduct of the evaluation. In some circumstances they seemed to strengthen the efforts of the evaluator, and in others they effectively curtailed the evaluation's scope.

The social and political reactions to SESP evaluation products, it is suggested, were not basically derived from the conduct of evaluation as a scientific and objective exercise, but from the contextual nature of the activity and from the underlying social and political forces in which relationships between the evaluator and the project team played a crucial part.

2.2. The Context of the SESP evaluation

In this section the context of the evaluation, its setting in Scoil Chuimsitheach Naomh Padraig Sionna, (St. Patrick's Comprehensive School, Shannon), is described, the rationale behind the evaluation, its processes and procedures and the overall formative and summative scope of its intended products is given.

2.2.1. Initial Involvements

In 1972, when I was completing a Master's Degree in Education at the University of Chicago, I applied for, and obtained the post of, evaluator at the Social and Environmental Studies Project at Shannon. Although I had studied curriculum as part of my general fields in a course which specialised in education in developing countries,[1] I knew very little about the technical side of evaluation. However, between the time of my appointment in December 1972, and the time of the completion of my studies I had plenty of opportunity to acquaint myself further with the nature of evaluation, and got much expert help and advice from teachers at Chicago University. In particular I gleaned from such renowned curriculum figures as Joseph Schwab,[2] ideas concerning the intensely practical nature of curriculum process, and some introductory thoughts about the social and political contexts in which it operates. Professor Schwab stressed in a private interview the importance of

sitting down with those involved and thrashing out with them the issues and values involved in curriculum; in his own doughty way, he insisted on the need for confronting the development team with the implications underlying their assumptions.

Returning to Ireland in April 1973 I found myself in an office which was later to become one of the rooms of the Curriculum Development Centre at the Shannon Comprehensive. I met with the team, and began my visits to the project schools.

2.2.2. SESP General Background to the innovation

Irish education at post primary level underwent a period of rapid expansion during the period of the 1960's and 1970's. Up until that time it continued in the liberal and academic tradition with a separate vocational and technical stratum.[3]

The O.E.C.D. report on Irish Education, 'Investment in Education',[4] published in 1965, had studied, as a matter of national priority, the relationship between educational resources and the projected manpower needs of the economy. The outlook and findings of this report had some influence on the subsequent development of Government policy with regard to Education.

However, when it set up a system of Comprehensive Schools in the mid-nineteen sixties, the Department of Education of the Irish Government had in mind something more than future economic needs. It envisaged further both a democratic and a progressive development in Irish Education. Thus, while these schools were to provide some of the educational infrastructure for needed technological development, they were also seen as part of a programme to provide free second level education for all the children of the nation, and as agencies to broaden the scope and to improve the quality of that education.[5] While they were

free and accessible to all, up to Leaving Certificate Level, the Comprehensives were to be non-selective, to provide a wide range of subjects, both academic and technical. A counselling service, personal, educational and vocational was, in common with other schools, also envisaged.[6] The Comprehensive Schools were also to be centres of educational innovation.[7]

This latter aim was given consideration by the authorities and members of the staff of Scoil Chuimsitheach Naomh Padraig, Sionna, after the school's opening in 1966. They felt that a degree of priority should be given to development and innovation. This they felt should take the form of greater freedom, self activity and co-operation on the part of students and a less rigidly academic approach on the part of the teachers. Thus they worked towards a flexibly structured classroom, and sought a more integrated approach to learning that would closely associate the students with aspects of their own surroundings. A circular from the Department of Education on Environmental Studies prompted the block time-tabling of periods normally given to History, Geography and Civics, and facilitated the type of project work on which the children were engaged.[8]

2.2.3. S.E.S.P: The Growth of an Innovation

The teachers involved in the innovation programme were pleased with some of its effects. They found for instance, that the children engaged on it developed interests and competencies, both social and educational, which would not have been possible in the more traditional type of classroom, and with more conservative methods. Project work involved children in working together in groups, in using and developing their own initiative, and in forming habits of individual and collective research and work. It tended to associate more closely with the realities and

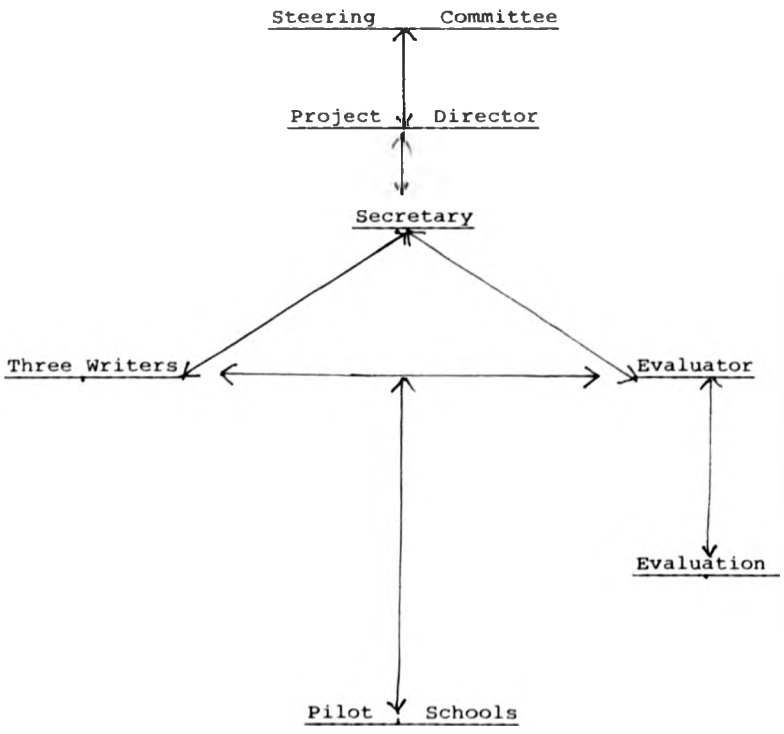
activities of the childrens' surroundings and background. Moreover, the students were engaged in studying the Historical, Geographical and Scientific aspects of the environment. It was felt that such practical interest in these fields would benefit all, and would advantage students who wished to take up their more formal study later.[9]

However, there was cause for concern. The team engaged on this work did not sense, as time went on, that it was progressing. They seem to have felt unease at the lack of orderly advance. When more detailed plans were drawn up, they proved impractical. While conscious that much had been gained which was new, it was felt that the basic skills such as reading and writing were not sufficiently being attended to. Solutions to these problems were tried. By the school-year 1969-1970 it became clear that curricular materials containing relevant reading matter combined with appropriate writing and other activities would best meet the difficulties and benefit the project.[10]

Contacts with experts who had worked on Schools Council curriculum development projects in the U.K. convinced participants in the Shannon innovation that school and inservice teacher involvement was the proper setting for curriculum improvement. Advisors, such as Marten Shipman, who had been through the first generation "center periphery" model of development, counselled the adoption of a programme of school based innovation.

During the school year 1971-1972 the Department of Education was approached and agreed to fund such an extended operation. The structure of S.E.S.P., then approved was as follows:-[11]

S.E.S.P. TEAM 1972 - 73



There were two basic ambiguities in this structure. First, although the project was ostensibly "school-based", neither the director nor the writers had any direct contact with what was actually happening in the schools. They had information on it by hearsay from the teachers at meetings and from the reports, verbal and written, of the evaluator. Secondly, although the consultant was appointed to the evaluator, it remained unclear at certain crucial junctures whether he was consultant solely to the evaluation or whether his consultancy role also extended to the Steering Committee and Director, who wanted him, at times, to advise them concerning the evaluator and the conduct of the evaluation.

The evaluation consultant was to be Dr. Gerry Beggan of the Department of Education, University College Galway. The evaluation itself was to operate out of the Social Science Research Centre at the same University, thus ensuring it at least an objective countenance.

During the school year 1972-1973, materials were written and printed in Scoil Chuimsitheach Naomh Padraig by three writer-teachers, directed by the Headmaster of that school. They were submitted for trial in five schools in the Shannon area:--

Scoil Chuimitheach Naomh Padraig, Sionna;

St. Flannan's College, Ennis;

Villiers College, Limerick;

Vocational School, Ennis;

St. Joseph's College, Gort.

In these five schools, twelve teachers, fourteen classes and a total of three hundred and seventy students were involved on the project.

Later at the beginning of the School Year 1973-1974 (September 1973) four schools in the Cork area also joined the project. These were:

Midleton College, Midleton;

Ashton Comprehensive School, Cork.

Immaculate Heart College, Cork.

Colaiste an Spiorad Noamh, Baile an Easpaign, Corcaigh;

This raised the total number of schools involved in the project to nine, with thirty six teachers, thirty two classes and over seven hundred and ninety students participating.12

There was an attempt at balance in the selection of schools between boys and girls secondary (grammar type) schools; vocational and comprehensive; Protestant and Catholic.

The core structure of the materials was 'thematic'. Under the overarching theme "Man and his Spaceship, Earth" were two sub-themes. The first sub-theme "Man the Builder" had as sub-topics environmental aspects; and social aspects. Environmental aspects included the Universe, Composition of the Earth, Earth Movements, Mapping, Metereology and Plant and Animal life. Social aspects included the Origins of Life, Pre-History and Evolution, the Origins and Growth of Towns, Cities, and Transport. The second sub-theme "Man the Destroyer" contained as subtopics Pollution and War.[13]

2.2.4. Objectives-led curriculum development: the pretensions of innovation

The espoused aims of the curriculum coincided very well with what the teachers at Scoil Chiumitheach Naomh Padraig originally had in mind. The course purposed to 'provide a bridge between Environmental Studies in the Primary School Curriculum and the Junior Cycle courses in History, Geography, Science and Civics in the post-primary school.'[14] It determined to develop learner activity, initiative, cooperation, knowledge of and interest in aspects of the environment, a sense of values, social awareness and responsibility.

Being ostensibly teacher-based, the innovation recognised the importance of the teachers' role. However activated or lost in the actual shakeout of development, the rhetoric of aims was strong. The programme was initiated in a school and continued that school's own attempts at curriculum improvement. It purported to involve teachers in the development of materials, and in specifying educational objectives

aimed at integrating across subject boundaries. With regard to the implementation of the curriculum, team teaching was to be encouraged and teachers were to be involved in the critical assessment of their own work. The curriculum also aimed to 'involve teachers in developing a form of continuous assessment that could provide an alternative to terminal examinations'. Thus the critical role in the development programme remained, in theory, with teachers in ordinary working situations.[15]

These teacher-oriented aims of S.E.S.P. were not only directed at developing a more resourceful and informed teaching body. They contained an implied recognition of two salient constraints in the development of second level education in Ireland. The first of these was the traditional isolation of the teacher in the classroom. The second was the perceived dominance of the terminal examination and certification system. The two were not unconnected. They tended to individualize the teacher within a narrow set of competencies and to adversely affect the type of enlightened learning situations that the developers of the S.E.S.P. innovation were striving for.[16]

Thus the spirit of cooperation, both inside and outside the classroom that had animated the original group of teachers was to be encouraged and structured in the other schools of the project also. But more importantly, perhaps, for the success of this and other hoped for developments, a system of continuous assessment more related to the goals, educational and vocational, of students, and more in keeping with the aims and objectives of the project, was to be developed, whose purpose was not only to provide an alternative to terminal examinations, but, it was hoped, even to evolve, in time, into an acceptable form of State Certification.[17]

A scheme of objectives, adapting Bloom's 'Taxonomy of Educational Objectives'[18] to environmental studies, was adopted by the project team. These rendered more concrete the broader educational aims of the project. They distinguished, for instance, between pupils' ability to memorize, either terminology or specific information about the environment, or many of its accepted generalizations, from the ability to interpret the significance of events going on around them.

> 6. Pupils should be able to understand and describe the influence geographical and biological factors and governmental and historical developments have on shaping the environment. (Interpretation)".

While pupils should be able to restate experiments or symbols in their own words (Translation), and to apply acquired knowledge about the environment to new situations (Application), they should also be capable of some of the 'higher' cognitive operations.

> 9. Pupils should be able to analyse statements into central themes, be able to distinguish fact from opinion, important from unimportant, proved statements from dogmatic statements etc. (Analysis).
>
> 10. Pupils should be able to express their own opinions, knowledge, feelings and experiences on matters of the environment with sincerity and exactness. (Synthesis)
>
> 11. The principal objective of the course will be that pupils will be able to make informed, reasoned judgements on matters pertaining to the course content. (Evaluation)."[19]

On the affective side, it was expected that the curriculum would procure for pupils:

1. A sense of belongingness to their district.
2. A sense of perspective about their district.
3. Interest in investigating the environment in its historical, geographical, biological aspects.
4. Raising the general level of activity of the students.

These objectives were, with progressively greater explicitness, written into the Teachers' Guide for each section of the curriculum. They were not intended to be 'operationalized' point by point in the classroom, but were to serve as guidelines whereby teachers could be more flexible and specific about the matter and method of their teaching.[20]

2.2.5. Innovation style and personalities

In effect, then, while the project adopted some of the rhetoric of the second generation curriculum developers, like in-school teacher development through increased professionalism, in fact it was a centre periphery "first generation" model, except that the "centre", rather than being in a university or academic institution was situated in a school.[21] As the project developed, differences between the rhetoric of innovation and the actuality of change in the classroom became more marked. In fact over the period of the first two years of the evaluation very little help was given to teachers with their work in the classroom.

At teacher meetings, which were held in the Shannon and later also in the Cork area on a regular basis, teachers explained what they were doing and shared their experiences with the use of the materials in accordance with the conventions of their communal wisdoms.

The schedule of objectives adopted by the project seemed contrived to give a good look or flavour to the project, a kind of pledge of its commitment rather than a clearly understood statement of where it was going. The crucial issue of process, how the objectives were to be achieved, what changes of classroom layout and of interaction between students and teachers that were contemplated in the innovation, were not spelled out in a way that would give a directional "kick" to the enterprise. While for instance, there was a general commitment to "groupwork", no one, least of all at Shannon, seemed to have any idea of

what that learning process might involve. Individualised learning done sitting together around tables was hardly group work in anything but appearance.

One of the developments envisaged by SESP was team teaching.[22] Although again no form was laid down for this initially, there was a general sense that getting teachers together to talk about their work was a "good thing" and was one of the features of the original Shannon enterprise, which was increasingly scored into the project's policy.

Diarmaid O'Donnabhain, the Project Director, conducted project meetings with dogged intensity. His performance did not have the energy of a dog worrying a bone, but of slowly grinding it until it cracked. His stolid persistence held the conversation to a line while maintaining a frank and open, sometimes boyish, mein and humour. While he would allow conversation to "float" on occasion, he was ready to pick up when sometimes offered, the dropped phrase that might hold a lurking idea or harbour a disagreement. While he allowed ideas to fly around him "like birds", as he described them, he himself kept his seat in the chair, his feet anchored to the ground, and was ready at the appropriate moment to pull all the fanciful flights down to earth again by the strings of control that he fancied were tied to their legs.

Although outwardly open and tolerant, O'Donnabhain could give the impression of hating other folk's intruding ideas, either practical or theoretical, but especially theoretical. He would allow expression of views as a therapeutic exercise, and as a prelude to establishing his own vice-like grip on the conversation. (Field notes May 23rd 1973 "Nice guy tactics ... then plenty of muscle") But he was hardly at home with expressions of opinion where he could not stamp his own authority with incision and dissipate vagueness and cross purpose with a list of things to be done. While he welcomed criticism, he preferred it off the record,

and openly sought to surface disagreements and to ensure conformity with decisions taken, by giving everyone the impression that they had been heard.

The writers were in their own way equally interesting. Not likely to fragment the decisive onward thrust of a meeting, Der O Mahony spoke low and with engaging frankness. He was expert at underplaying every situation and pulling the plug of his own and other people's pretensions and assertiveness with between-the-teeth remarks and jokes at himself. He made an ideal foil to the director's massive imperturbability with a gnome-like show of deprecation. He wrote the geography sections of the curriculum material, efficiently rather than imaginatively arranging the material in English adjudged well-suited to young people, and interspersing general statements "to be learnt" with activities and things "to be done".[23] A disciplinarian at heart, it took O'Mahony some time to accustom himself to the curriculum "activities" he wrote for his classroom.

Ignatius Murphy wrote the history sections out of a certain interest in local history. But what he wrote, although again well written for the age group, was social history traditionally presented. Beginning from early times, he dealt with human habitations, for example, in a potted history that brought man from "primitive", to "modern" living conditions. Like O'Mahony's, his text too was laced with exercises and things to do.[24] But the activities proposed would rarely bring students into the open, or engage them in research or in working as historians do. Both doctor of Common Law and a Catholic priest, Murphy was surprisingly shy and retiring; yet his intelligent measured appraisals and assessments made welcome contact with the practical side of teaching. Employed as a

full-time teacher on the staff of the Comprehensive at Shannon, he was destined to leave after two years in curriculum development to take over general charge of catechetics for his diocese.

Pat Lynch, a scientist, was the third writer. He concocted editorially, rather than wrote, the section on pollution - and was promptly accused of introducing a latter-day version of ghost stories to haunt and upset the children."[25] But his section was praised by outside consultant Ian Westbury as being "the most innovative" of the materials,[26] and his "classroom experiments" caused much hilarity and occasional hysteria among teachers unaccustomed to the hive of activity the jovial Lynch, unflappable and unperturbed, could generate in his classroom. Lynch was always good humoured and his amusing and episodic accounts of occurrences in his 'labs' brought well-disguised witty jibes to the sometimes over-tense proceedings at meetings.

2.2.6. The evaluation model

Imbued as I was with notions of the 'practical' in curriculum, I first cast around for a model which would be acceptable to the director and to his steering committee, who were urging the adoption of classroom observation methods such as the Flanders technique,[27] and a conventional objectives/results pattern for the evaluation. Later I identified eight criteria for the evaluation procedures to be followed which crystalised most of my thinking on the subject at this point. Covering broadly the field of "the practical" the criteria committed the evaluation to the uncovering of project problems, tracing their causes, and relaying progressively this information to decision makers. The model which I chose was Stufflebeam's CIPP (Context, Input, Process, Product)[28] model which I adapted for my own needs, hoping it mirrored the formative/summative reference frames I would be working with.

2.3.1. Initially recorded dichotomies in development as observed April - May 1973

The main school base or centre for the innovation was the Shannon Comprehensive where, in conjunction with participant teachers, the materials were written, printed and dispatched for use to the other establishments involved, schools which were in innovation terms, more peripheral to the development. Field notes at the time record teachers with problems of "coverage", "pressure" from the centre, and a lack of overall communication.

Nonetheless the "school-based" development remained an important, if largely rhetorical, platform of policy, a stance vehemently insisted on for all that it was virtually ineffectual. This "bolting on" of second-generation rhetoric to what was really a first-generation style of development created an inner tension between those at the centre, the Shannon people, who saw themselves merely as instigators of cooperative and friendly innovative activity, and the teachers in participating schools who came to see themselves more progressively as consumers of what Shannpn handed down. (Field notes, May 23, 1973:" The teachers ... felt they were being steamrollered")

The mismatch further opened a credibility gap between the "Director Speak" and the reality on the ground, on which ground the evaluator now found himself deeply frowning.

2.3.2. Background to the First Interim Report: the use of classroom discussion

One of the more interesting facets of SESP was the variety of classroom discussion that emerged. This itself became the subject of an evaluation paper which was received well not least because it reflected well on the enterprise. My summary analysis following visits to the schools in April-June 1973 produced a number of categories, as follows:

1. Spontaneous Reflexive Discussion. Where the teachers question on cues presented by the class, over general subject or topic areas. The aim is to give expression to class feelings or thoughts on selected or suggested topics. It is divergent, that is, it opens up problem areas, interest areas or areas of concern. Nidation is the process of using formalised teaching in the middle of such a discussion.
2. Comparative Contrastive. This occurs when the teacher sets up a frame for contrast or comparison, e.g. past or present, and questions on cues suggested by headings across the frame. This method is convergent, it centralises the scope of the discussion on the solution of a precise problem, or the building up of a precise concept. It is useful for developing the skill of generalisation and interpretation.
3. Thematic, Synthetic. The teacher suggests a theme, then questions on a number of selected areas relevant to the theme. He then relates the insights gained to the theme itself. This method is systematic and convergent. It focusses relevant insights on a given concept that illuminate its meaning. It develops the skills of interpretation analysis or synthesis.[29]

In general my analysis was received as insightful and informative and indeed during this period with SESP I was afforded many of the privileges of the guest and was allowed access to the rather jovial sublife of the exercise. I recall several delightful and entertaining little shows, warm and intimate in the way that classrooms sometimes are. Although teachers encouraged me to comment on their specially put-on performances I declined, disclaiming any competence to do so.

Later however as I got to know them a little better I used to venture into detailed discussions with some, exploring with them their perceptions of their own role. I found them on the whole a lively and

interested bunch of people, open and receptive. Nevertheless I felt inhibited at the limitations of my own evaluative role, and sought ways of expanding it that would be constructively helpful to teachers without compromising my function.[30]

I began to conclude that they needed a good deal more encouragement and help than they were getting with their little experiments in the classroom; a great deal too much time was being spent on the production of mediocre materials and not nearly enough on practical innovative ideas, a point I made to the director and team. But I found that while the encouraging things I said were treated as endorsing project policies, my criticisms were ignored. The team, far from being encouraged to interest themselves in what teachers were at in classroom processes, were being flogged to produce materials to tight deadlines. The whole project ethos was being dominated by production values, by typing and by seemingly endless churnings in the printing machine room.[31] I became frustrated at my inability to make an impression, and in conversations with the evaluation consultant tried to discover what I should do. Beggan's response was cynical and pessimistic, treating the whole thing as a bit of opportunism on everybody's part, including my own.

One morning sitting in my room reading an AERA publication[32] on the operationalising of educational objectives I decided I would go public on the things that were bothering me. I would write a report.

2.3.3. The First Interim Report (FIR) June 1973[33]

The First Interim Report of the SESP evaluation expressed some of the dissatisfaction I had felt by critically examining the design aspects of the very materials which were being pushed through with such

relentless vigour. I first attacked the projects' uncritical use of Bloom et al.'s Taxonomy of Educational Objectives[34], and indeed the taxonomy itself.

> "The difficulties of the Bloom taxonomy are well known. It contains presumed mental categories which:-
>
> 1. Do not specify the operations to be performed by the learner.
>
> 2. Do not specify the conditions under which these operations are to be performed.
>
> 3. Lack of specificity in the taxonomy renders it useless in sequencing instruction effectively.
> It leads to an emphasis on content as a criterion for instruction and evaluation."[35]

I was taking seriously what had been merely a rhetorical front, as I felt the taxonomy should either be there for a purpose or else not at all. If it was there for a purpose then some of the commonly-held difficulties about it would have to be considered in relation to what was going on with the design and structure of the materials and with what was coming 'out' at the production end in the classroom.

My next paragraph explored customary difficulties with the taxonomy, and their implications for the design of the materials being produced. I saw the technology as failing even in its own terms; I was able to show that because the objectives had not been 'operationalised' into appropriate teacher and pupil behaviours, "the materials were confused in their purposes."

> "These difficulties (with the taxonomy) are very evident at the present stage in the development of the S.E.S.P. curriculum.
> 1. None of the units (of materials) contain a scheme of operations to be performed by the pupil.
> This has had the following bad effects:
> a) The arrangement of the worksheets tends to be inadequate, and their function imperfectly understood.
> b) Since objectives are not operationalized the directions given to teachers are vague and inexact. They do not specify with sufficient accuracy what types of student behaviour are in fact necessary.
> c) Moreover such directives as are given often contradict the modes and procedure directed by the text itself."[36]

The version of the taxonomy that was being used did not specify what it was the student was expected to be able to do as a result of the new learning experiences. So the suggested activities in the worksheets got out of phase with the objectives. The text featured in the materials was a 'narrative' presentation, by and large, and did not lend itself to anything more than factual learning, whereas the objectives required interpretation and analysis.

> "2. There is considerable confusion among curricular writers and teachers alike as to what constitutes the proper conditions for securing optimal teaching and learning on the materials. This is not alone a functional difficulty as to whether one form of teaching is more effective than another (e.g. group teaching as opposed to frontal teaching). The problem concerns how the aims of the curriculum and the objectives are to be rendered operational. It is a problem therefore of curricular design, which, unsolved as it is, has had the following serious consequences:
>
> a) The aims have not been substantially incorporated into the materials as written.
> b) The instruction tends to continue with formalized teaching techniques, with emphasis on mastery of content. It tends to the vicarious use of the materials for aims other than those specified in the curriculum.
> c) It tends to emphasize on the part of the producers of the curricula those elements which render it attractive and teachable and to de-emphasize those elements which might tend to more productive teaching. Hence the text-book nature of much of the material.
> d) Group teaching where engaged in is not adequate. It is over-structured, and inexpertly practised.
> e) Much of the project and other group activities are regarded among the teachers as sidelines and not as central to their whole curriculum.
> f) Others tend to the misconception that student involvement, enjoyment and self-expression per se constitute a good learning experience.[37]

While much that I had seen had pleased me, teacher inventiveness was not at all being encouraged by the structure and layout of the materials. On the contrary their textbook format encouraged a purely assimilative response, and this temptation proved hard to resist. Even the recommended group teaching did not materialise; it was little more than individualised learning done around a table. There was very little project- type work, field trips, visits, of the kind that would encourage

the development of initiatives and cooperation as stated in the aims of the project. Some teachers seemed to have the idea that children enjoying themselves with childish activities was enough.[38]

I next criticised the sequencing of the materials indicating some resulting confusion among teachers as to the relative importance of different curricular "bits" I went on to outline a major source of discrepancy.

> "Apart from these technical difficulties the programme operates under a number of other constraints. For example there are inherent contradictions between the aims as stated in the curriculum and some other unstated aims.
> Acceptability is one of these. The writers have to write a curriculum which is acceptable to the ordinary teacher. This aim, although unstated, dictates a good deal of the layout and format of the curriculum."[39]

What was behind the statement was that when I had raised criticisms about the materials these had been dismissed on grounds that writers had to produce materials "acceptable" to teachers.[40] I now suggested that there were unstated aims constraining the teachers which were not part of the design, and which were inhibiting writers from incorporating a clear expression of the objectives into the text.

2.3.4. Reactions to The First Interim Report

Some of the social and political implications of the First Interim Report are elaborated later in 3.3.1. For present purposes it is sufficient to narrate quite simply what the response was when the report was presented to the Director and team.

The Director began by grilling me on every aspect. After consultation with his advisors and with the evaluation consultant, who advised him to take the criticism seriously, a two-day conference was called.[41] Present were members of the Steering Committee, the Evaluation Consult-

ant, the writing team and director, and myself as evaluator. I was challenged to explain myself and did so going through the design implications of the Bloom taxonomy especially on the arrangement of materials.

I was allowed a period of time on the second day to go through the technicalities of objectives/materials arrangements in curriculum writing, and to explain something of the operating context of the curriculum. In general it was agreed that the conference exercise had been a valuable one in terms of a learning exercise for the director and team members. "Things were never the same again after that" Der O Mahony remarked to me long afterwards. It was a "watershed" in the development of the Project, Pat Lynch thought.[42] My own general feeling was that the technical critique of the developmental model raised the team's consciousness and had been a useful piece of formative evaluation.

However, my attempts to delay the production of materials were unavailing. New deadlines were set, and with the exception of one section, that on War, my intervention made little difference to the production of materials, or to the quality of what emerged.[43] And when Turlough O'Connor, a Steering Committee Member, suggested at the end of the first day of the two-day conference that mine was only one of a number of possible critiques, O'Donnabhain was able to treat it as only weakly coercive; thus the project continued, slightly delayed, but more or less as before.

2.3.4. Long term effects

Later in the Summary of the Final Report I pointed out the advantages to the team of this first formal intervention. Referring to the materials I wrote concerning the critical problem of acceptability:

> "the materials as written may have a further possible advantage. They may bring the innovating teachers to a point where they are looking for more advanced sequencing and better overall design. They may provide the basis for experimentation with new techniques in the classroom, which will create the demand for further materials with greater classroom possibilities. In time when the materials too have become familiar, the teachers may find in themselves the need for a further challenge, to be met, presumably, by more challenging materials.
>
> In this way the materials could sequence innovation for teachers.
>
> Teachers are provided, with mildly at first, innovative materials on which they can progressively develop their teaching. Thus, at a certain point, a different curricular design may present them with a newer challenge, at a time when such a challenge may be more acceptable to them."[44]

During the second (continuing) phase of the SESP, different and more stimulating formats were used. One of my own suggestions was taken up, the possible use of a 'frame' of contrastingly presented documents within the materials.[45] At the time I did not feel that this mild cooption particularly compromised my independence. (3.3.1.)

It is a matter of record, however, that the stranglehold of materials production eventually weakened to the point where SESP was confident enough to repudiate materials altogether.[46]

2.4.1. The Second Interim Report: Background

The Second Interim Report was also born out of a certain amount of frustration. I had failed with my first intervention to make any dent in the director's view of curriculum development as a materials' producing exercise. I became gradually more disenchanted with my role. Going over my reports of classroom observations with members of the project team at meetings I was not heartened by their response.

By September 1973 the project had moved to Cork. Everywhere I went I was asked the same kind of question: what is the point of this innovation if it fails to produce a change in the public examination system? That basic problem of devising an alternative assessement programme had not really been met, merely postponed. The Intermediate Certificate Examination was beginning now to prove a decisive threat to morale. The original upsurge of enthusiasm was being dampened by a sense of futility.[47]

To me there was only one way around these difficulties and that was active engagement by the project personnel in the field. It seemed to me that the team had been overworked at writing, and were too limited by their other duties to make any real impact. When I talked these matters over with the evaluation consultant, he could offer no advice. I opted to launch another Report.

2.4.3. The Second Interim Report (SIR) December 1973

The Second Interim Report was written in December 1973,[48] and was delivered after the Christmas recess. One of its main themes was the need to keep up the momentum of the exercise and sustain the enthusiasm of the teachers.

The Report stressed the value of retaining the enthusiasm of the teachers and the need to develop the programme, from its base as a 'bridging' exercise between primary and secondary schooling, upwards into the second level at least as far as the Intermediate Certificate. There were no forward plans for this, no real engagement with the assessment problem which in particular was well nigh intractable given the lack of commitment of time and energy to this area of activity.[49]

Concluding my general review of problems, over emphasis on materials' production, lack of support 'up front' in classroom situations, and lack of assessment potential, I next turned to what I considered to be the main problem, the workload of the project team.

Evidence that there was a "work load" problem had been accummulating for some time.

(1) 68% of the budget was being devoted to the writing brief.

(2) Shannon was receiving a hidden subsidy in the form of an extra teacher's salary while not offering an effective resource programme for teachers' innovation efforts.[50]

The conclusion was clear:

> "The evaluation feels that the question of the division of labour, the degree of overwork, both of director and of writers, and the role conflict that being a member of both a teaching and a curricular team involves, is without question the root cause of the projects present problems.
>
> The question is not how much the school is benefitting from the SESP team, rather it is how can the SESP project maximise the benefits that accrue to it from the experience of its teacher-writers, given their present teaching commitment."[51]

Concluding I rounded off the report with an invitation to the project to examine its structural arrangements in the light of these criticisms.

> "In view of this analysis what the project must now address itself to is whether the present arrangments re personnel are adequate to rapidly snowballing demand for commitment of time, expertise and personnel in the areas indicated, and what the nature of the commitment should be to maximise the present amenities provided by the curriculum, and remedy its more outstanding defects of design and implementation. It is felt that immediate provision is indicated by the scale and scope of present needs."[52]

2.4.3. The Director's reactions to the Second Interim Report. December 1973

The director's response was formal and personally interventive. It first took the form of a written reply circulated to the Evaluator/Consultant, and Steering Committee. Secondly he quickly convened a meeting of the Steering Committee at which he read his reply in the presence of the evaluator and consultant.

The written reply began:

> "As a general statement regarding the problems facing the project the report is satisfactory. The preview that I got of report was of great assistance to me in drafting proposals regarding the future development of SESP.
> As a formative evaluation of SESP I found the report very disappointing."[53]

He proceeded to underline the causes of his discontent. No evidence had been produced to support the "subjective observations" and "opinions" of the evaluator, only "vague" references here and there. No positive suggestions had been made in the context of the projects' present concrete limitations. The evaluation had itself failed to meet a number of procedural deadlines, and had not delivered on technical aspects of its task, especially on survey data and assessment. The main thrust of this criticism was that the evaluation was offering judgements, while the Director wanted data.

At the Steering Committee Meeting held in the Department of Education Offices at Malborough Street, Dublin, shortly after New Year 1974[54] these charges were reiterated. Much of the talk at the meeting revolved around topics such as what should the evaluator be doing, or whether he should make 'subjective' 'unsubstantiated' statements in reports. Concerning the central suggestion of the report, the need to support teachers in classroom and assessment work, little or nothing at all was said.[55]

Before the Marlborough St. Meeting the Director had held a meeting (Jan. 2nd 1974) with me. At the meeting it became clear that certain matters could no longer be considered subject to negotiation. The further programme for the "evaluation" was laid down. My next reports I was instructed, were to include statements on the development of evaluation summative instruments, survey, assessment produces, and documentations of classroom performance, and team teaching. Criticisms of decisions of management and of project structure, I was informed, were not helpful and were to be desisted from forthwith.[56]

A programme of assessment suggested by the Consultant, - the development of two hundred items, based on the materials and testing across five of the ability ranges being developed as testable objectives by the evaluation, was to be completed by March, and one of the writers, O Mahony, was to assist me in this. From this time on, a formal team teaching guide to assist school teams in developing 'ideas' and pupil objectives independently of the materials was developed for circulation to schools and for use by teachers. The director took personal charge of working this teaching tool with his teachers at Shannon, as an exemplary "run through" the new formula for team teaching and instruction.[57]

It was evident from the subsequent activity which the project, spurred on by its intrepid director, developed that the "unhelpful" report had scored to telling effect.[58]

All in all the Second Interim Report was a bruising experience for me as evaluator. I had not yet learned to think of evaluation matters in structural terms, and supposed any difficulties to be purely personal. I later was given to believe that the evaluator's plight of having his report rejected was not uniquely my own (cf. 3.5.1. ff).

2.5.1. The Third Interim Evaluation Report: Background

The Project Director may well have found the Second Interim Report unhelpful, given the Project's structure and limitations. It had looked at structural problems rather than operational ones.

The Director's curriculum pronouncements had a distinct grassroots flavour. He argued that curriculum change should take place in real-life school situations and should affect the quality of teaching in classrooms.[59] Nevertheless it was a moot point whether much real change was occurring. The evaluation was still asking "show me". What was being demonstrated was a good deal of pseudo activity that somehow was not making any impression on the grassroots situations.[60] If the Director had not accepted the structural critique as helpful in his present situation, he did respond to the underlying assessment of the evaluation that teacher enthusiasm needed to be sustained in a situation where little change was thought feasible as a long term or even short term proposition.[61] His response was to attempt to build a system of within-school networks of support for the innovation, to advance the team teaching idea in participant schools.

In January 1974 O Donnabhain drew up a grid called the 'Big Idea',[62] a team-teaching instrument in which teachers were invited to choose a conceptual area, both to be explored in the materials and to be arranged and presented in class in relationship with the objectives of the curriculum. Moreover, he himself took the Shannon teachers and relentlessly worked out his grid at session after session. Afterwards these teachers although finding the exercise "brutal", "incredibly dull", and "virtually useless" in the classroom ("You had to forget about the objectives and get in there and teach"), nevertheless found that the experience had been most fruitful in giving them a better idea of what the project was about, and where its different elements hung together.63

2.5.2. The Third Interim Report (TIR) April 1974[64]

The Third Interim Report documented the furtherance of this development among the various participant teams, and assessed its progress from the various planning and drawing board situations through to delivery in classroom settings.[65]

The section dealing with Team Teaching was a review of the meetings which launched the "Big Idea" and of plans submitted by individual teams to the director at his behest. Concerning what transpired in classrooms I produced thirty four cameos, snapshots of classroom observations with some short and sharp critical comments.[66]

The review of meetings held in Shannon and Cork[67] to get the "Big Idea" off the ground project wide, recorded what transpired and assessed the mixed but overall enthusiastic reception which the new team teaching concept received.

Concerning the plans submitted to the Director by the various teams I had this to say

> "They show how different teachers handle topics more or less well related. They also give evidence of a more or less progressive understanding of curricular objectives."
> However, proper functional relationship between strategies, learning experience and content is firmly grasped in only one instance... Five submissions are simply statements of content, six have established to some degree the relationship of objectives to learning experience and to content, but are still largely content oriented. In one instance the submission is too thin on the ground to draw substantive conclusions from it."[68]

From my field notes and reports I compiled sketches of classroom situations. These had an identifical format but varied greatly as to activities observed and presented. The following is one of the better teaching efforts which yet fell far short of what the project was about.

"Date: Feb. 29th, Location: Northdown College, Teacher Fergus Flattery

Layout: Semi circle,
Activity Listening question and answer.
Subject: Growth of towns lead lesson.
Method: Moved into the area of growth of towns in an ordered series of set problems, interconnected and completing the concept of growth. Used floor as blackboard for a map.
Remarks: Teacher showed mastery of a converging argument posed as a series of problems, demonstrating a firm grasp of an analytic approach to concept building. His technique was fresh and individualistic. He got a lively response from the class. Nonetheless, he did not demonstrate sufficient understanding of development of "initiative" or "cooperation". Moreover his approach to the origins of towns was towards the generalisations about it, was content oriented, and did not demonstrate a grasp of the broader aims and objectives of the curriculum."[69]

My conclusions from all this may be summarised in the following set of questions culled from the Third Interim Report which illustrate the global and unrealised stage of development which the project at this point demonstrated.

> "Why does someone who had worked out a perfectly splendid plan for classroom work, fulfilling perfectly well the type of specification required of him by the curriculum, operate his actual class altogether differently from his plan? Likewise, why do so many teachers, when asked to submit an arrangement of content according to objectives proceed to operate in the reverse way? Why did a request for a lead lesson plan result in a deluge of content? Why does group teaching result in a heightening of interest away from the more basic objectives of the curriculum?
>
> Why does a good teacher after operating the curriculum for almost two years marr perfectly good reports from children on project work with constant interruptions to ensure "coverage" and "mastery" by the class thus mitigating the more obvious advantages of cooperative work?
>
> Why does a member of the project team committed to planning, come to a team planning session to talk solely about matters other than planning?"[70]

In conclusion these points were trenchently summarised. Reviewing the kind of critical appraisal to which the project had been subjected over the previous months Jan - March 1974, I concluded:

> "in the face of such an examination it does not stand up well at all. The functional relationship between stated aims and objectives on the one hand, and classroom activities on the other, have, hardly been grasped at all by most of the teachers. In team work there seems to be an almost total absence of ability to think of objectives in terms of actual classroom situations, and an almost total failure to sequence materials in terms of such situations."[71]

2.5.3. Reactions to the Third Interim Report

The Director responded to the Third Interim Report by circulating a written reply to be discussed at a Steering Committee Meeting.

In his written reply O Donnabhain stated that he found the Third Interim Report "extremely helpful".[72] He admitted that SESP was falling "far short" of its objectives, but put its "teething troubles" down to the necessarily slow pace of real curricular change, involving as it does teachers' attitudes, their preparedness to develop new skills in different school climates.[73] Continuing, he affirmed his belief that real change was taking place, but felt that induction was on a gradualist basis, a process that went through phases of rejection of the new curricular technology, slow acceptance, and finally assimilation into classroom practice. He felt that the stage at which the project now stood was one in which participants demonstrated

> "A readiness to involve themselves in
> a) respecifying objectives
> b) developing teaching strategies to operationalise objectives"[74]

This bland conclusion belied the evidence presented by the evaluation. At issue was not the willingness or readiness of teachers, but the whole project's (team and teachers') total inability to translate the design of the curriculum into a recognisable image-in-action of what it represented.

The Steering Committee Meeting which considered the Third Interim Report and the Director's reaction to it was held at the conclusion of a Seminar at which a two hundred item test had been worked through.[75] This had been seen as a symbolically crucial exercise for the project personnel involved, who in writing and commenting on items testing across differential abilities and objectives could be thought to have come of age in assessment if not in curricular terms.

The evaluator who had contributed the bulk of the items might be thought also by those who knew, to have contributed significantly to testing on this side of the Atlantic.[76] The ethnographic material presented in his Third Interim Report may have paled by comparison. The meeting quickly endorsed the Director's view, as the evaluator prepared to devote most of his time to setting up the test for June 1974 and analysing its results in the subsequent Autumn.

This reaction demonstrated a threefold pattern of issues-avoidance. The evaluation had firstly offered a technological critique of objectives implementation based on document analysis and ethnographic observation. He received praise for the accuracy of his presentation but there was no follow through into decisive action, and no actual change was mooted. Decision and judgement in acordance with scientific evidence were avoided in a clear lack of willingness to come to grips with the central issue.

This of course was, secondly that the project lacked a "cutting edge" with which to operationalize its design. This was rationalised as "normal teething troubles" and as such could be dismissed as routine and non-worrying. Thus the criticisms could be marginalised and rendered superficial with a show of righteousness and complacency.

Finally, when after up-front confrontation of issues had proved counter productive, the evaluator had in this report drifted back into producing document analysis, cameos, vignettes and close-up portrayals he found his efforts being more and more encouraged into the symbolically and technologically more impressive areas of assessment.

2.6.1. Background to the Fourth Interim Report

Each of the three previous Interim Reports was written with the SESP Directorate and its Steering Committee in mind. The Fourth Interim Report was written for a different audience - the teachers. It attempted to define the particular problem which teachers were having in implementing the curriculum, in particular their problem of communicating with the project team in terms of the systematic development of the innovation.[77]

While the report was designed to be mildly controversial, and did in fact bring the evaluation, teachers and project team for the first time into situations of confrontation and debate, it produced some very negative reactions from members of the Steering Committee, who found it "unprofessional" and "unnecessarily disturbing for teachers." It gave occasion for certain Committee members to denigrate the evaluation, and was characterised by the Director as an albatross[78] around the evaluator's neck - "an accursed thing" which occasioned some anti-evaluation feeling.

2.6.2. The Fourth Interim Report FIR September 1974

Towards the end of the school year 1973-74, one of the Cork teachers,[79] who had been in the project since the previous September, and who was anxious to know what the evaluator had to say as a result of his many classroom observations, requested an evaluation report for teachers.

O Donnabhain directed the evaluator to produce the requested report, and the Fourth Interim Report, was the result.[80] It appeared in September 1974 and was immediately circulated to teachers.

The core argument of the Fourth Interim Report focussed on a, to me, crucial definition of curriculum as system.

> A curriculum is more than a set of materials. It is a planned interaction between the development team on the one hand and the implementors on the other. By implementors I mean, not merely the teachers involved on the project, but everyone in the pilot schools, the principal, the non-participating teachers, down to the loneliest child. Planned interaction must be systematic, it must touch all concerned, and effect real planned change."[81]

The problem was, it seemed on this definition, that the project team had not adequately defined what they wanted the teachers and implementors to do in terms of planned systematic change and consequently the teachers, not knowing what the curriculum was supposed to do, could not define for themselves how it was supposed to go in the classroom.

> "If neither of these things are understood the novelty of innovation wears off, the day to day pressures of work take their toll and teaching tends to revert back to the traditional norm. This, in my judgement is what is constantly tending to happen to this curriculum."[82]

This was a considered judgement. I had witnessed many performances, creditable to my observant eye, but without the back up of resources and support to sustain invention, they were ad lib efforts. The missing dimension was the curriculum, the organisation and system of commiseriat to back up the teachers' understanding and efforts at renewal. I used some metaphors culled from the market place and the fields to, illustrate the point.

2.6.3. Reactions to the Fourth Interim Report

I felt I knew the teachers well enough and felt I had their confidence and trust sufficiently by that time to be able to draw both their fire and that of the project team, without detriment and with benefit to everyone concerned.

As it was, the director, team members and some teachers took issue with me on my understanding of what was afoot. The ensuing debate at meetings in Cork and especially at Shannon was in my view both lively and profitable. I was therefore both surprised and disappointed when I discovered that members of the Steering Committee had been scandalised at my engaging in controversy with teachers. In particular, offence was taken at the fact that the Director and his team had been openly criticised in front of groups of teachers. By implication this brought the Steering Committee itself and the Department of Education into disrepute in what was seen as negative common room bickering.[83]

It might be appropriate for the evaluator to engage the Team and the Committee itself in debate on curriculum issues, but the teachers, it was thought, needed only encouragement and support. Controversy, on this view, is essentially destructive.[84] Other Committee Members had taken umbrage at the alleged low professional tone of the metaphors I had used and felt the overall presentation to be poor and amateurish, with spurious bogus crudentials to a mature and serious credibility.[85]

What struck me as odd about this reaction was the patronising and paternalistic attitude of the Steering Committee to the teachers, and their almost total incomprehension of the level of communication which the evaluator in fact had achieved both with the Team and with the participating teachers. The low ratings which they gave to the style of the report were, considering the serious issues which it raised, likewise incomprehensible to me.

I became aware of having infringed certain protocols and etiquettes of behaviour, sensitivities which seemed more important to Committee members than the prosecution of a halfway adequate debate by the participants. O Donnabhain and O Mahony, being closer to the evaluative action, were able to provide a modicum of reassurance to the more frayed committee members, but I was made aware for some time afterwards of a smouldering discontent with my efforts which resulted from this particular episode.[86]

On reflection what had seemed crucial to the reactions to the Fourth Interim Report were different interpretations of what the real sensitivities of the situation were. Unaware of the slow buildup of confidence with each other which both the evaluator and team and teachers had experienced in their various interactions over the school year, committee members took the uni-dimensional bureaucratic view that controversy as such was inimical to progress and were inclined to see the evaluator more as an 'agent provocateur' than as a promoter of useful appraisals, more as a voyeur interventionist than a competent operator of change.

2.7.1. Background to the Final Report

During the Summer and Autumn of 1974 I was engaged on the processing of the results of the testing programme. This was seen as symbolically of great importance in view of the fact that the Public Examination Evaluation Project (PEEP)[87] was pushing for a revision of the Intermediate Certificate Examination[88] based on a system of objective testing, and because SESP teachers had become involved as teacher assessment specialists in the projected scheme. In that way SESP was seen by its Director and by the Director of PEEP as a sub project of the Public Examinations' Evaluation Project, testing teachers' involvement in

setting up their own public examination.[89] A resolution of SESP's assessment problems seemed in sight. The project's teachers who had received specialist training in the setting and processing of objective tests might soon become involved in putting together their own Public Examination.[90]

By December 1974 the SESP evaluation had to turn its entire attention to producing its Final Report in time for the funding decisions of the continuing project which was due to follow in September 1975.

This involved among other things a partial disengagement from statistical analysis and the reestablishment of the more basic ethnographic and problem solving orientations of the evaluation. These were eventually seen by the Steering Committee members as crucial to the final evaluation product. But, paradoxically, just as the full impact of this product became apparent to those with responsibility for continuing the project, the funding agency, to whom the Final Report was primarily addressed expressed its aversion to the methodologies and concerns of the report and formally excised evaluation completely out of the continuing project.[91]

Thus the evaluation, having finally won over, as it were, those immediately involved, the team and Director, the teachers and the Steering Committee, to its methodology and stance, finally succumbed to its rival paradigm as adopted by the SESP funding agency, the Department of Education, becoming equiparated with assessment.

2.7.2. The Final Report January - May 1975

The layout of the Final Report follows the Stufflebeam model[92] for its headings; context, input, process and product, CIPP. The Report never was completed. An introduction, chapters on context, input and process were completed in first draft form, the final chapter on the

"Product", was to have contained the statistical analysis of the Summer 1974, 200 item test. But it was never written.[93] Instead I was directed to prepare a Summary Evaluation Report[94] which was presented to the Minister of Education in June 1975 as the definitive report.[95]

Comparing the two versions, the longer draft contains detailed analysis of all the data. The summary, being definitive and the agreed conclusions of the evaluation, elucidated in an agreed text, is a better more comprehensive and clearer statement of what the evaluation had established summatively about all aspects of the project, including the statistical analysis prepared for the final (Product) chapter. The version used for this study will be the definitive summary one.

2.7.3. The Summary Evaluation Report (SER) June 1975: brief review of contents

The Summary opens with the history, structure, aims and objectives of the project, concluding with the Focus of the Evaluation, a statement of the conditions and constraints which the evaluation considers to be significant with respect to project outcomes.[96]

The First Chapter, headed Context, explains the operating context of the innovation. The data for this section was collected in structured interviews with principals and teachers.[97]

The Second Chapter, headed Input, studies the impact of the curriculum on its operating context, in particular, on the teachers and students for whom it was designed. Data for this chapter was collected from documentations of classroom observations and teacher/pupil interviews, and from the processed results of pupil and teacher attitude questionnaires.[98]

The Third Chapter, entitled Process describes the development of SESP, how the project operated as an agency for change within its operating context, and with the impact described in ch. 2 (Input). The data for this chapter consisted principally of project documents especially the curricular materials, and documentation of observations of classroom activities, and of team planning sessions. The setting up of assessment procedures and the results of the Summer 1974 test were also included. A section on the dynamics of team teaching concludes this chapter.[99]

Defining the role of evaluation as central to this process of development the report states so in this chapter.

> "From the beginning the evaluation was seen not solely as cast in the role of an independent observer, commenting on and analysing the project objectively from the outside, for the benefit of sponsors and other interested bodies, but also as an agent operating inside the project, endeavouring to make that project more critical of itself, more capable of evaluating its own advantages, drawbacks and inadequacies, and of directing more effectively its efforts."[100]

This formative evaluation role, as described here and elsewhere in the Evaluation Summary Report was what was particularly objected to as invalid to the evaluation exercise by the Department of Education sponsors.[101]

The Fourth and Final Chapter of the Evaluation Summary Report entitled Product seeks to define the problem now facing the project. The project has achieved, it is stated, certain initial and partial solutions to the problems of innovation. The need to sustain the momentum of change, and to move to more complete curricular solutions is now seen as central to projects' present concerns and to the consideration of sponsors.[102]

2.7.4. Reactions to the SESP Evaluation Summary Report

An analysis of reactions to the Summary Evaluation Report is offered in a succeeding chapter, (3.3.3.) where the reception of the Report is construed within the context of a diminishing role definition for the evaluation, resulting eventually in its total elimination from the project. What is given here is a brief review of the events surrounding the presentation of the Report to the Minister of Education in June 1975. The review is necessarily brief as my knowledge of what actually happened is derived from one or two hints dropped at random, and from speculation provoked by some outcomes of the Report.[103]

I gathered from the Director's hints that the Evaluation Summary Report had proved profoundly distasteful to one or two influential members of the Finance Committee of the Department of Education which had funded the project. In particular statements pinpointing the evaluator's own role ("evaluating the evaluator") were strongly objected to as unprofessional and misplaced.[104]

The Report apparently created internal dissent within the Department between the Development Branch, charged with responsibility for curriculum and other developments and career bureaucrats of an older generation who controlled the purse strings. Although in essence ideological, statistical and classical assessment as opposed to illuminative evaluation, the conflict had a career dimension and can be said to be one of several ongoing "incidents" which resulted eventually in the disbandment of the Development Branch and the relegation of its members to other assignments. A Curriculum Development Unit was designated to replace it.[105]

Aware of the issues in question I printed in full my Introduction to the Final Report[106] in which I had outlined the background and theoretical base to the evaluation, as a retrospective justification. But

this attracted no comment, and at no stage was I called upon to face criticism.[107] Instead it appeared that far from enquiring as to the meaning and scope of the type of evaluation method adopted by the project, steps were being taken to decisively put an end to evaluation altogether in the continuing project. Its provisions included a post for a research officer in charge of assessment, for which I applied without being entirely aware of the fact that my role as evaluator was not only diminished but gone.[108]

Thus I found that having finally established my role in the project I found it entirely eliminated in one sweep by an arbitrary judgement of the sponsoring body. There appeared to have been three reasons behind this fundamental and radical move.

1. The Evaluation Summary Report itself represented a shift away from statistical classical assessment and the reestablishment of the evaluation as a mainstream illuminative model with practical overtones for decision makers.
2. There was an ideological conflict within the Department of Education between the younger elements interested in qualitative study, and older more entrenched positions with vested interests in classical and statistical research.
3. There was also a prestige and career aspect to the conflict in that precedent had been broken by the establishment of the Development Branch, and by the appointment to it of young and enthusiastic members over the heads of older and more "entitled" career prospects. The Branch in fact did not long survive its creator's departure from the Department.[109]

   The SESP evaluation apparently became one of the casualties of this "crunch" within the bureaucracy.

2.8. The SESP evaluation: reflective intimations

The case study of the SESP evaluation here presented could be seen as a series of incidents revolving around certain evaluation products. I was interested, in presenting these products, to conduct a project assessment. This critique in fact went through various phases and was variously motivated and oriented. I expected the critique to be seen for what it was.

On occasion chagrined, puzzled and hurt by the reactions to these reports, I later began to be intrigued at these curious and unexpected manifestations. Sometimes they seemed to have psychological overtones that had nothing to do basically with the critique, and seemed designed either to discount it, blunt its impact or reverse it altogether. Sometimes, it seemed, the report spurred into action, at other times it activated rationalisation, at others vituperation; which reactions amazed me sometimes, bruised me at others and always left me with the general feeling of having been misunderstood as having done something which I never intended. All I was trying to do, I felt, was assess the curriculum problem, and recount it as I saw it.

Intrigued by the curious paradox of a project paying for a product which it did not, by and large, seem to want, I took to querying other evaluators and found that they had experienced not dissimilar reactions. This brought about a second phase in the natural history of the inquiry, the classification of possible social and political reactions into a schedule or model.

Chapter 2 references

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49. SIR, p.8.

50. ibid. p.14.

51. ibid. p.14.

52. ibid. p.15.

53. Directors Reaction to Second Report 6/1/1974.

54. 25/1/1974.

55. Notes on meetings 1974.

56. ibid.

57. ibid.

58. Progress Report (2) 21/1/1984 written to the Director's (Meeting 2/1/74) specifications, among other matters reviews the evaluation's position, and comments on renewed leadership being given to the project.

59. Field Notes Nov. Dec. 1973; SIR, p.3.

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62. The Grid, with objectives down one side and teaching strategies across invited teachers to choose a conceptual area and to annotate in the grid the parts of the materials they wished to use in association with it. This enabled the identification of objectives to be pursued and the teaching strategies to be adopted in association with materials. It encouraged thematic thinking with materials, and was a planned counter stroke to the text-book approach.

63. Ide Cahill, Finella Delap, speaking to EEC educationalists on visit to SESP May 1974, notes of meetings 1974.

64. TIR, Titled: Third Progress Report 8/4/1974.

65. The Report focussed mainly on these elements in the context of a "work in progress" document to the Steering Committee.

66. TIR, part I, pp.1-7; Part II "Developing teacher capability; curricular myths and classroom realities". p.8,ff.

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Director of PEEP Professor John Heywood showed a test given in May 1973 to friends at Examination Boards, JMB and SREB.

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83. Notes on meetings 1974.

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86. ibid. A Steering Committee Meeting in December 1974 in consideration of a Final Evaluation Report to be produced forthwith, was unanimously negative in its confidence in the evaluator's ability. It was after this meeting that the Director gave it as his opinion that the FIR was an "albatross" around the evaluators neck.

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Structure SESP 2 1975, SESP Position Paper August 1975
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CHAPTER THREE: THE AGGREGATE PATHOLOGY MODEL (APM)

3.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to generate a model, designated an 'Aggregate Pathology Model', which is proposed as having interpretive power in charting what might go wrong in programme evaluations.

In this nomenclature "aggregate" defines the method by which the model was arrived at, simply by grouping incidents together as aggregated sets of experiences with a common meaning or definition. The categories, too, came to be formulated one on top of the other according as incidents arrived which seemed to elicit or demand their emergence as distinct headings. "Pathology" defines the nature of the incidents we have been describing, which are in the manner of deviations rather than what might be considered normal although in another sense their frequency makes them unremarkable and usual. There seems to be a spectrum or implicit taxonomy of reaction arising out of the incidents we have been describing[1] which go all the way from nicely nicely attempts at collusion, to cold if not open conflict.

What is proposed here is not a complete taxonomy running from one end of the spectrum of such reactions to certain evaluation products. The model being mooted is not conceptually complete as periodic tables are, containing all possibly incidents, it is rather a grouping, derived from experience in which the aptness or appropriation of its set of categories is not deduced componentially,[1] but induced rather from incidents or events associated in the way that has been described, by certain similarities one with the other, and separated into categories because of their intrinsic coherences, and their differentiation as discreet formulations.

The structure of the chapter reflects the natural history of the research, as it builds on issues and disfunctions that marred aspects of the Shannon evaluation. The APM represents the first concerted attempt to discover whether the experience of Shannon is generalisable. The starting point then, is a series of unanticipated side-effects that appeared to dog the Shannon evaluation and which appeared at first to be perverse and capricious. Gradually these unexpected problems, centering on the role of evaluation products and the adaptive strategies of those perceiving themselves threatened or demeaned, formulated into a kind of negative ideal type (the APM). This, in spite of its being derived inductively rather than analytically, eventually appeared as a pure-form statement. As we shall see it attracted a certain amount of peer group validation when tried out on the evaluation research community, and forms an important framework in the history of the research, although it was subsequently superceded to some extent by other kinds of analysis.

I first revisit Shannon to sharpen my sense of anomoly concerning the adaptive strategies employed by the project team against its evaluator. Was it just me, or are some of the issues more deeply structured into the nature of the project-evaluator relationship?

3.1.1. The Shannon experience revisited

The Shannon experience increasingly appeared not as a set of unrelated incidents occurring in isolation from each other, but rather as comprised of a progressive and internally coherent series of interactions within a single evaluation situation. And this in spite of the many-faceted nature of the interactions, because a dynamic dialogue between evaluator and project has many features which progressively qualify and change the scope of a discourse, enlarging, curtailing or precluding it.

What, then were the straws in the wind coming off the Shannon? At one time the evaluation could freely comment on all aspects of the programme, yet its scope was subsequently narrowed when the administwation of the project was excluded from its frame of reference. But when the Final Report came to be written, the apparent scope of legitimate content became wider again. Although it still did not include comment on administrative matters, it did contain a rundown on two years of very interesting teacher involvement and of classroom innovation.

In these broadening and interacting evaluation situations, my own condition stance and status as evaluator changed. In April 1973 I had commenced work not in a tightly prescribed role, but by common consent as a kind of helpful outside commentator-on-affairs, and moreover one who was appropriated as a useful member of the team, providing feedback, and designing tests to validate the outcomes of the programme.

But then I became interested in the processes of innovation in classroom situations, wondering if these were sufficiently coordinated and project-derived to be part of a planned development. I became critical of what I perceived as a non-implementation of the objectives of the programme and wondered if these explicitations of the project aims had been sufficiently well understood and specifically incorporated into the way the programme was designed and operationalised.

My First Interim Report (June 1973)[2] addressed itself to these points, and although many of my recommendations were ignored, rejected or modified, the thrust of my comments on the design of the project was, in general, well received. This brought about some changes in the layout in which at least one of the features of comment, the use of materials as 'frames' for dialogue, became firmly incorporated as part of the project's further design and use of materials. The remaining section of materials was in part arranged in ways that did provide scope for

teaching through comparison and contrast in dialogue and discussion situations, for activity based methods, and for personal inquiry, as the evaluation had suggested.

Thus in a sense by the very investigations which I conducted, and by virtue of the comments which I made, I myself became absorbed into the creative dynamics of the innovation almost as a member of the team. Not only did I provide help by advice and consultations, I even helped with the arrangement of materials, writing some and turning my hand to speed the printing process when needed!

It seems therefore that by exercising my evaluation role to the fullest, the more positive areas of comment became incorporated into the future dispositions of the curriculum. My role had turned somewhat opaque. It became not just one of a detached observer and critic, but also one of the developer, assisting in the innovation and assuming some responsibility for its success. While conscious of this, I could not see either how I could have avoided 'mixing it' in this way with the project. It was a way of being in touch, being 'normal' and acceptable as a critic.

As the evaluation work moved into second school year of operation in September 1973, further improvements to the implementation of the programme that I had expected as a result of my initial intervention did not occur. It appeared to me that the teachers involved in the project within the schools were receiving little or no help with their classroom innovation from members of the project team. As part-time teachers these were both engaged in writing the programme and in using materials in class. They had other normal school duties as well. They were unwilling to visit schools, and assist with the operationalisation of the programme in other classrooms besides their own.

This struck me as odd, especially since at the request of teachers seeking direction, I became voluntarily coopted in this aspect of the work. As evaluator I achieved a non-prescribed role for myself in helping teachers to evaluate their work and thus improve their teaching, broadening my own evaluative scope in the process. I felt that some involvement of the project team in this work was necessary as I could only be marginally involved in this very crucial innovative intervention. It needed a project-wide task force.

The project director by an administrative anomoly was also fulltime manager of a 600 student comprehensive school. The project could not in these circumstances reasonably expect any sustained management from the top, only occasional 'kicks' into activity at times of teacher meetings and project team sessions. This meant that there was no evolution in the quality of the innovation activity, only replication of conventional usages derived from teachers' own conversations and shared wisdom. This did not seem good enough to me, and I said so in my Second Interim Report Christmas 1973.[3] Perhaps the critique lacked courteous tentativeness; indeed many saw it as roundly criticising the administration of the project.

This report was not only opposed by the Director, but totally rejected by him as a formative evaluation. It could be said that this rejection, whatever its motives or reason, was functional, diverting attention from some of the criticisms and legitimate questions which the Report had raised. In the aftermath, the direction of the evaluation was in part taken over by the director of the programme, who saw to it that the evaluation would not comment on the management of the project again.

Being somewhat isolated and at the time a little naive in these matters I was unable to resist this restriction of my role, and the form of evaluation which I was now required to conduct, shrunk to a narrow set

of concerns, mostly involved with the design of tests, and with classroom observation for the purposes of informing the project team and the director on the progress of the project. Thus I found myself out-manoeuvred and boxed into a corner, to the extent that these activities dominated evaluation activity between January and June 1974. But even this limited brief did not offer a trouble-free ride; in April 1974, I reported on the classroom procedures as observed since January 1974. In all, thirty five observations were recorded, and the general pattern showed only marginal improvements since the previous reports. There was much talk about innovation but very little of what the curriculum aspired to was going on in the classrooms. The evaluator felt able to pose a number of critical questions advising that

> "On their resolution depends whether or not we can demonstrate the feasibility of 'operating' as distinct from 'locating' a curriculum development project in a school."

This aspect of the report was largely ignored by management, by project team and by teachers alike. The project broke instead into a flurry of displacement activity over the testing of the programme and into further planning without being asked to examine the record of classroom performances. As the project evaluator I felt isolated and ineffectual in my efforts to examine and comment on the structures of the project and on the processes of classroom operation by which the project might be more validly assessed. Instead the management preferred to use the criterion of "teacher satisfaction" as a measure of progress by which to justify project activities to the Steering Committee and to other mentors. Such satisfaction is a crucial factor of development of course, but how reliable is it as a basis of assessment? Perhaps the director

chose to keep his teachers with him over 'pretty piece' presentations, rather than engaging in a serious review of the project's design and implementation.

As evaluator I had lost the confidence of the Management and Steering Committee alike. A further Interim Report[5] of mine had been adjudged inept and provocative and dangerous, likely to undermine the confidence of the teachers in the management. A popular theory even psychologised the faults; I was an aggressive character who had revealed telling intemperance at a teachers meeting. There was a real danger that O'Connor might further corrode the confidence of teachers and fritter away their good will. The substantive content of my comments continued to be ignored.

That the quality of my Reports were now a matter of public concern evidenced at the Steering Committee meeting of December 1974 which got quite close to a formal declaration of no confidence in the evaluation. It was difficult to avoid the conclusion that a movement was afoot, to downgrade the evaluator against the possibility of blame for his failure being laid at the feet of the Steering Committee. The independent evaluation consultant refused to give an opinion either way on grounds that his own responsibility in the matter had been undermined. He felt that he was employed as consultant to the evaluation not to the committee. In the event the evaluation continued to steam ahead, but warning shots had been fired across its bows.

The gradual appearance of the Final Report throughout the Spring of 1975 allayed most of the Committee's fears, and the Summary Evaluation Report,[6] written to the specification of the Steering Committee, was presented to the Minister of Education, Mr. Richard Burke in June of that year.

Although the Summary Report was well received by the Committee, it was much criticised by Department of Education officials, who had expected a more objective less ethnographic account. In subsequent negotiations for an extension to the project, the role of evaluator/commentator was eliminated altogether. Instead, a job specification was devised which assimilated the erstwhile evaluator entirely into the undamaging technical task of developing tests.

Thus the evaluator might be said to have experienced the whole gamut of reactions to his efforts, from acceptance and interest to disregard, hostility and recrimination. But the proffered 'explanations' did not suffice. What social processes were at work? I was curious that some of my best efforts at friendly criticism should have provoked such a wide range of diverse responses.

Since I got on very well with everyone concerned and was aware of a certain "sneaking regard" even on the part of those who expressed hostility to me, I felt the problem was hardly idiosyncratic and personal to myself. I wondered where the problems lay. Was it the sensitivities touched in my ethnographic accounts? Was it that my view of what was eligible as data had proved over-liberal and disconcerting? Was it the tone of my criticism? Were there professional and hierarchical proprieties that I had unwittingly offended? All of these views struck me at the time as partially true. But were my experiences untypical? Later experiences and communication with other evaluators were shortly to lend weight to my speculation.

3.1.2. Fresh fields and pastures

These initial reflections on the Shannon experience were broadened and confirmed, as new evaluation scenes and fresh contacts with other evaluators shortly revealed that the Shannon incidents were not untypical

of other evaluations. In October 1977 I came to the Education Centre, New University of Ulster, (N.U.U.) to embark on a doctoral programme with David Jenkins, then Professor of Education at the Centre, as my supervisor.

Jenkins had recently been involved in UNCAL[7] (Understanding Computer Assisted Learning) the evaluation team monitoring the National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning. NDPCAL was a nationally based U.K. programme of curriculum development, largely but not entirely housed in third level institutions throughout Great Britain and Northern Ireland. It involved over forty projects in all, one of which, the Computer Assisted Management of Learning Project (CAMOL)[8] implemented the ICL Software package of the same name in a variety of institutional settings. One application, to teacher education, was located at the Education Centre NUU, and was directed by Harry MacMahon of the Centre staff. The NDPCAL/UNCAL evaluation team consisted of a director, Barry MacDonald, and three evaluators, located at the Centre for Applied research in Education (CARE) University of East Anglia. As one of his UNCAL assignments, Jenkins had been responsible for the evaluation of CAMOL.

Earlier in his career, Jenkins had been Assistant Director of the Keele Integrated Studies Project[9] financed by the Schools Council, which Marten Shipman had evaluated.[10] He had subsequently been involved writing curriculum units for the Open University, including two on evaluation.[11] He had published widely on the subject of evaluation and had many contacts in the field. He was deeply interested in the possibilities of exploring the social and political role of evaluation products and encouraged me to develop my research interests in this direction.

As part of my own programme, Jenkins wanted me to review the CAMOL evaluation and to participate as co-director with him in the evaluation of the Schools Cultural Studies Project (SCSP).[12] This was a second level curriculum development project designed to help cross the sectarian divide in Northern Ireland Secondary schools. It was shortly to be reviewed for further funding and the contract for the evaluation was being negotiated around the time of my arrival at N.U.U.

Besides these doctoral assignments, I soon became involved in the evaluation of the 'Religion in Ireland' Project.[13] This was a religious education curriculum development programme also aimed at ameliorating the Northern Ireland sectarian situation by introducing second level schools to the diverse religious, mainly Christian, traditions obtaining in the province. It afforded me friendly and scholarly contact with Dr. John Greer, a Church of Ireland Minister, and Lecturer in Religious Education at the Education Centre N.U.U. As director he was having his own troubles with the evaluation of the 'Religion in Ireland' project. During the course of their resolution we became very much inseparable "separated brethren". These experiences afforded parallel insights and confirmed the generalisability of some of the notions I had been entertaining.

As work continued into my programme I came into contact with other evaluators, and with different evaluation situations. For example Stephen Kemmis[14], previously of UNCAL, joined us on the SCSP evaluation for a time. Professor Tom Anderson[15] from the Southern Illinois University, on secondment at the Education Centre, NUU, for a year, and also Ann Breslin,[16] then completing her doctorate at the University of Chicago, both did stints on the SCSP evaluation. Travelling to Norwich in December 1979 I met Barry MacDonald, the UNCAL Director,[17] then winding up the UNCAL evaluation, and Lawrence Stenhouse,[18] Director of CARE, a curriculum specialist, thinker and author of many major works in

curriculum studies. At conferences and gatherings at home and abroad, I met different evaluators. Such contacts as I established confirmed me in my conviction that the Shannon experience had not been unique. Many, if not most, other evaluators whom I met and spoke with had had experiences similar to my own. As work proceeded on the SCSP evaluation further evidence emerged about the social and political aspects of evaluation practice.

3.1.3. The Formulation of the Aggregate Pathology Model

In April 1979 Jenkins and I attended the Annual Conference of the Association for the Study of Curriculum in Edinburgh.[19] It was there during a respite prior to the Conference, that we threw together what amounted to a crystallization of our thinking about the social and political role of evaluation products. We formulated seven categories of possible reaction, which in view of the way they grouped together as odd or deviant behaviour patterns we called the Aggregate Pathology Model (APM) of reactions to evaluation products.

The Aggregate Pathology Model of social and political reactions to evaluation products (APM) derives from the commonly experienced general truth that "organizations tend either to assimilate or reject their critics." The summary formula put forward at Edinburgh, and as subsequently presented for comment to professional evaluators, at the Third Cambridge Conference on Naturalistic Inquiry in Educational Evaluation[20] and elsewhere was as follows:

> "Evaluation activity is conducted alongside a problematic sub-text; that the role of the evaluator and the social role of his products is likely, in the absence of an initial contract, to be negotiated during the conduct of the study. The problems lying behind this negotiation of social role are likely to be as follows:

a) The possibility of cooption or collusion. (Social organisations if possible either assimilate or reject their critics).

b) The possibility of re-negotiating a more restricted contract, or of deflecting the evaluation into peripheral or undamagingly technical surrogate tasks.

c) The possibility of distancing or rejecting either the evaluator or his products.

d) The possibility of rhetorical acknowledgement divorced from political action.

e) The possibility of a project building up a dossier of evidence against an evaluator in order to be in a position to conduct a successful counter denunciation.

f) The possibility of using human sensitivities in social situations as instruments of social control over the evaluator (i.e. manipulating the sensitivity of other people rhetorically by stirring up feeling against the evaluator).

g) The possibility of the 'rival' product. An internal evaluation is developed as a counter thrust to the independent one.

Jenkins had been thinking about this formula for some time and was in many respects its author, yet it merged into a kind of joint effort. As we drafted the first written version of the formula together on tape that day in Edinburgh, our views and experiences ran alongside and matched each other quite nicely. We thought others might have similar responses to ours, and decided to seek peer group validation. Consequently we put the formula in letters to various experienced evaluators for their reactions.[21] Although the response was not as dramatic as hoped, we did get some very interesting returns, commenting favourably on the formula and grounding it further in the vicissitudes of evaluators in a wide variety of settings. Nobody treated its excesses as grotesque, and many found echoes and reverberations from their own experiences. We decided that the APM was a negative ideal-type, of sufficient heuristic value to carry us through the next stage of the investigation, seeking

further peer group validation from a group of international evaluation practitioners about to convene at the Third Cambridge Conference on Naturalistic Inquiry in Educational evaluation 17 - 20 December 1979.[22]

However roughly put together, the APM does provide one with a map around the more typical social and political reactions to evaluation products. Those who engage, either as neophites or as hardened campaigners in evaluation exercises, need no longer feel crushed by problems that are not at all untypical of evaluation situations.

But the APM has more immediate research implications in that it affords a means by which different evaluation case studies can be examined. In affording a more-or-less complete pattern of negative responses, it asks the question; what is it in the case which precipitates the set of negative reactions in the first place? Furthermore it poses some similarly unasked questions. What are the progressive dynamics underlying sets of such reactions, how do they start off, develop and terminate, and what is the likely outcome in terms of supporting or undermining the effectiveness of an evaluation? It asks further questions - if this is the deviant reaction, what might be the norm from which it deviates? What in an ideal setting, would the interaction between the evaluation and the project or its sponsors look like?

The APM is not meant to be a complete paradigm or off-the-shelf taxonomy of all possible negative reactions to evaluation products. It is roughly put together out of the experiences which compose it, and has a number of problematic inclusions and overlaps. For example 'cooption' is grouped with 'collusion' although they do not quite mean the same thing. At the time the formulation was put together, they seemed sufficiently close for inclusion under the same heading, though now

perhaps in retrospect separate treatment might have been more appropriate and would perhaps give clearer precision to the events they seek to clarify.

Thus in December 1979, (designated an observer) I attended the Third International Cambridge Conference of Evaluators[23] where, feeling like a neophyte at an Ecumenical Council, I met some of the specialists most renowned in the evaluation community from both sides of the Atlantic; Robert Stake, Louis Smith, Tom Fox, Barry MacDonald, Malcolm Parlett, David Hamilton and others, (cf below ch.4 passim). As an authoritative gathering capable of confirming or denying the analysis, it seemed undeniably impressive.

I presented the APM to most of these specialists and tape recorded their reactions. These responses grounded the issues in a variety of concrete evaluation situations. The responses fell short of fully validating the categories of reaction, but considerably consolidated the general ground, and proved very suggestive concerning the strengths and limitations of the analysis. Later as I worked through several versions of a presentation of the APM, it seemed that beginning with the model itself and attaching different experiences to its various formulations, like hanging similar hats together on appropriate pegs, did not give a sufficiently good account of how the model had come together; it seemed too facile and deja vue.

The present account attempts a different presentation by keeping faith with the natural history of the research and its roots in the curriculum vitae of the author. It begins with the Shannon experience, and shows how various examples of similar experiences to my own became hung together like floats on a string, gradually consolidating the thesis through what Robert Stake has called the processes of naturalistic generalisation.[24]

The kind of material presented here is by way of illustration not justification. The evidence, too, is a little soft and slippery, if not actually intractible. To be truthful, most of it is gossip, below-stairs speculation and anecdote, not intended for the public record and at times no doubt heightened by the circumstances of its telling.[25] In short, the quality of this data varies. Where possible 'triangulation' was sought from written materials reports and interviews.

3.2.1. The possibility of cooption or collusion

The first 'box' in which the APM collected disfunctional tensions attending evaluation products concerns the possibility of cooption or collusion. An independent evaluator becomes typically appropriated into a project's developmental work to the point that a collusive relationship develops, undermining his capacity to act as detached critic. In keeping with the 'natural history of the research', I first intend to examine how encountered this kind of difficulty as evaluator of the Shannon Project, S.E.S.P.

I first became conscious of an inadvertant shift in role when I became involved in designing and writing materials in 1973. The First Interim Report of the SESP evaluation has been fully treated in chapter 2. (2.3.1.tf) It is particular aspects of the aftermath of that report now require further elaboration. The First Interim Report had argued that too much of the historical material produced by the Project had been general, narrative, and over-chronologically arranged. The material, it was stated, gave a historian's digestion of history, for the popular or uninitiated young audience. It did not involve students in how historians work or in the process by which they arrive at their conclusions. This criticism was rejected out of hand by the writer in question, Ignatius Murphy, who did not address the substantive point

raised, but interpreted the criticism as a bid by the evaluator to dictate reconstruction of the material to his own whim. Although denying the legitimacy of the criticism by pointing out that the evaluator was 'not a historian'; he nevertheless felt sufficiently irked to offer his resignation.

At a meeting I protested innocence, distinguishing between executive responsibility and cultural critique. And at a further meeting which the director pressed on us I elaborated the criticism, commending the pedagogical value of historiography, - the art of using contemporary documents as a basis for historical analysis. I instanced the section "Brennan on the Moor"[26] from the materials written by him, as an excellent example of this, and noted some successful usages I had seen of this section in classroom situations I had observed. "It simply seems to me that there should be more of this" was all I was saying.

But the role of the evaluation was formative as well as summative; Murphy still had a section to write on War as illustrating an aspect of the section of the curriculum entitled "Man the Destroyer". Murphy was placated by my explanation and went away, if not content, at least thoughtful. When he produced the section of the Curriculum entitled "No Man's Land",[27] it used a good deal of contemporary material about the 1914-1918 war arranged in an attractive and pedagogically adept way so as to produce discussions on different aspects of war e.g. propaganda, strategy and morality. So far so good; but matters went further. I myself was asked to contribute to the materials and perhaps naively later wrote a piece called "The Deserter", about a young soldier who was executed because out of fear and revulsion he ran away from the front.

I had been quite excited by Murphy's response to my critique. In general his reactions came within the scope of a pedagogical analysis I had made on the basis of the work of a teacher, of a "frame" of contrasting positions, cultured, space-time, across which different concepts could be analysed and discussed.[28]

This reference frame was later extensively used in the second phase of SESP, and gave me the impression that I had made a significant and important contribution to the development of the programme. Indeed I found myself at one stage pushing the idea for all I was worth. I became a kind of advocate of a brainchild that I looked on as my own, a unique personal contribution of quality to the development of the programme. What is more, the director favoured the idea and it began to handle like a lovely coach and four, in an evaluator's dream drive through the project. Later when I had occasion to reflect on how an evaluator came to shift his role from critic to collaborator in the development of the programme, assuming some responsibility for its success, I was not so sangrine.

At some point I remember wondering whether or not in pursuing this process of development, I had become more a team member/collaborator, than evaluator, and was blurring the edges of my role. Equally, it had seemed alright, since my car was the only one visiting the schools, to allow myself to be used in helping to deliver materials around the pilot area. But I found it problematic when asked by teachers what to do about this or that section of the materials, whether to comment on what I had seen other teachers do with those particular bits.

Teachers expected help in the form of comment, critical or otherwise on what they were doing. Sometimes it was hard not to give it. Later I squared this apparent role conflict away by saying that I was really teaching teachers how to constructively evaluate their own work.

But there was always a nagging doubt that I was exceeding my brief. Later, members of the Steering Committee expressed themselves quite interested in that aspect, teacher evaluation, of my work. Others with responsibility for continuing the project were openly hostile to the idea of such a participation by an evaluator of the programme. For me it necessitated a question of accommodating my role as best I could to the development needs of the programme, without losing my evaluative perspective, a difficult balance to achieve.

A cold or calculating or less helpful person, might not have gained such wide access to all classrooms situations as easily and readily as I did. When it came to my report, I was as objective as I judged necessary, or so I thought. But teachers did not comment on my somewhat negative findings ostensibly for fear of hurting my feelings.

3.2.2. The supportive evaluator: (Religion in Ireland)

The possibilities of collusion also emerged from my experience in the North of Ireland where my symbolic value as a Jesuit to an ecumenical Church of Ireland minister provided a sub-text that made me, willy nilly, a strong supporter of a project, any criticisms I might make notwithsanding. The form that the collusion took, therefore, had the effect of deprofessionalising my role. The C of I Minister in question, Dr. John Greer had asked me to do a tidying up operation on his Religion in Ireland project, writing up the report on the basis of teachers' observations and notes left after the departure of his evaluator. As the first phase of the programme was by then completed I had to rely for a good deal of background information on Greer himself.[30]

I became conscious of the fact that regardless of the products, whether I was going to be descriptive, analytical or judgemental, the mere fact of his having a Jesuit evaluator was rhetorically powerful and

ultimately supportive. What I was going to say did not matter. It was an ecumenical programme. The project was about bringing different religious denominations together, and Greer, a Church of Ireland minister was delighted to find a critical Catholic voice at the centre of his programme. It not only looked better to the Catholics he sought to involve, it accorded better with the objectives of the project to have a 'mix' of involvement from a different religious camp to his own.

When he went looking for money for the next phase of the development, he was at pains to bring his Jesuit evaluator along. The fact that I was a 'rival' cleric was more important to my involvement in the project than anything I had said about it. My evaluation role might be viewed as a slightly indecorous appendage to what was arguably a case of mutual clerical self-promotions across the Christian divide. It hardly surprised me when, at the commencement of the second phase of the project, John Greer asked me to become Chairman of the Advisory Committee. I consented. The 'separated' evaluator had finally come in from the cold. In curriculum terms, I had joined the cloth, or taken the soup, depending on your point of view.

3.2.3. The Evaluator Reincarnated (Maths for the Majority)

In picking up echoes and reverberations of my own experience that institutions prefer to assimilate rather than reject their critics, I found several supportive cameos from other settings in the evaluative endeavour. Peter Kaner, for example, had approached his task of evaluating the Mathematics for the Majority Project[20] with almost theological purity, declaring publicly that his central task was to 'demythologise' the programme and its products. Unsurprisingly he became gatekeeper and director at the continuation project.

His report on Mathematics for the Majority comments on the evaluator's role:

> "The evaluation of a project raises quite large questions of purpose and motive which are quite distinct from the declared objectives of the project itself. One responsibility of the evaluator is to provide a description which will inform a headteacher or advisor of the sort of outcome he can expect as he encourages the adoption of project methods and material. The evaluators task could be regarded as establishing the project's true identity setting up a counter image to that set up by the project. His description should include the projects declared objectives as identified by the external world, as well as the external view of the original problem."[31]

Demythologising, then, offers independent access to the logic of the problem. Project directors, and other members of their team, have rhetorical reasons for what they do which do not correspond to how others, their audiences in the schools and elsewhere, might view what they are up to; or to what the 'real' ultimate effects of the programme they are implementing might be. For example, it is well known that teachers adapt materials they are presented with to their own classroom requirements, often without taking into account at all the pedagogical uses which the authors of the materials had prescribed for the curriculum-in-use.[32]

It is hard not to see Kaner as a successful demythologiser to the point ('mankind cannot bear too much reality') where he was 'handled' by being coopted into the re-mythologising of the programme. "Perhaps the most significant result of this side of the evaluation" he writes, no doubt with tongue firmly in cheek, "has been the setting up of a Continuation Project (1971-1973) with the brief of providing further help where the original project proved inadequate."[33] And, surprise, surprise, Peter Kaner himself was appointed to direct that continuing

project. It does not happen quite by accident that several successful evaluators have ended up actually owning the windmills they once tilted at.

3.2.3. Shipman on Board: (Keele Integrated Studies Project)

Another example corroborating my own experience of cooption occurred to Marten Shipman during his evaluation of the Keele Integrated Studies Project[34] where the project team handled the implicit threat of Shipman's presence by pressing him into service. Even this did not mean their avoiding his critical scrutiny, at least they felt he had been coopted into a role that blunted criticism. Shipman writes in his Preface to Inside a Curriculum Project

> "It would also be misleading to suggest that the researcher's role was consistent. I was accepted as a sociologist who would observe, question and test. But I soon became a participant observer, then took on small jobs for the team, as participant without observing, and by the end seemed to have a consultant role on the professional side and was one of the boys on the personal side.[35]

Shipman remarked what a delightful enterprise this proved to be, one which made possible the kind of insider/outsider report he produced. But he also expressed worry that his participation in the programme may have reduced his objectivity as evaluator, and justifies the added comments from David Bolam and other members of the team in part by way of providing some check to his own possibly over-subjective account.

Jenkins himself recounts[36] that for a while Shipman was going around writing in his notebook at meetings and not telling anybody about the way his research was going. There were three coordinators on the project acting as go-betweens vis-a-vis the project and the schools, and two of them made direct efforts to involve Shipman in the work of

disseminating the programme. There was a good reason for this. The Keele Integrated Studies Project involved the Expressive Arts, Humanities and by implication Social Studies as well. Jenkins:

> "In spite of the fact that some of the packs, for example the Living Together pack, were explicitly developing Social Studies materials, for instance the Tristan de Cuhna Section, no-one on the team was a social scientist, and there was anxiety that in its use of social scientific material that the Keele Integrated Studies Project was a bit amateur. But it was being looked at by a professional who was himself a Social Studies teacher."[37]

Shipman had in fact been training teachers in Social Studies for eight years previous to his joining the project. His contribution to introducing Social Studies materials to teachers would be an obvious boost to a team relatively ignorant in such matters, and anticipation of his participation may well have accounted for his enthusiastic welcome on board the project.[38] His appropriation as a de facto member of the team was looked on not only as a beneficial increment to the activities of teacher induction into the social science sections of the curriculum, but it also removed him as a potential critic from a section of the curriculum in relation to which the knowledge gap in the evaluator's favour was the most embarassing. In retrospect Jenkins is quite clear about the covert motivation behind the pressure on Shipman to shift roles:

> "He was asked to take part in the inservice training programme of the project, the purposes of which was to introduce teachers to the Keele Project, its ideas and its framework. I think the idea was to commit him to an executive role in part in order to weaken his capacity to act as an independent critic."[39]

If Shipman felt his collaboration was being over-solicited he says nothing about it. Perhaps it was all innocently contrived so that he did not realise he was being pressed into service. In my own experience at Shannon there was no overt assignation to a development role but it could

not pass my notice either that the writers at Shannon who had previously been out and about the schools shut down that part of their curriculum shop as soon as I started doing the rounds.

The critical hypothesis emerging from these political twists and situational yarns, is that to the degree that an evaluator assumes some responsibility for the success of any part of the programme, his critical judgement is either impaired or suspect or both. In some circumstances either might lead to a less than efficient performance.

3.2.4. Counting the costs of consultancy: (London Business School)

Another example of collusive collaboration well attested in the professional gossip of the evaluator's trade surrounds the experiences of Stephen Kemmis (UNCAL) at London Business School. Philip Boxer, the young director of a CML project in the area of Management Decision Making[40] lured Kemmis with a consultancy. Only later did Kemmis realise fully the problems of passing critical judgement on a project claiming already to have taken the evaluator's advice.

Philip Boxer was probably the youngest director in the National Development Programme for Computer Assisted Learning.[41] Though seen as very bright, he was widely perceived as needing to establish credibility with middle managers, and cultivated a "youthful boffin" style to offset his lack of years. At the level of abstract theory, he exuded confidence. As Jenkins put it:

> "He was willing to trade comment with the managers concerning implementation, but felt relatively safe in his intellectual framework..... the pedagogical model at the heart of his project was based on a theoretical position in cognitive psychology."[42]

Stephen Kemmis, was assigned to the London Business School as UNCAL evaluator. Kemmis had come from Graduate School at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. He was well versed in cognitive psychology

and very knowledgable on questions of an abstract kind arising out of the thought/action dichotomy. So, perhaps unexpectedly, Phil Boxer found himself with a serious intellectual critic probing the heart of his theoretical stance, just at the point of the Project's greatest strength as he understood it.

> "This took Boxer by surprise, but whereas in general he managed to protect himself by aloofness and distance, he couldn't distance Kemmis intellectually. So he switched his defence mechanism from distance and aloofness based on an impervious theoretical position to accepting Stephen within the discourse right there at the centre of the project's theory. But the entry fee into that was that he (Kemmis) came in on a limited well-defined consultancy. He was asked to give a seminar on one or two theoretical issues close to the language of the Project."[43]

Jenkins recalls that Kemmis was quite worried about the possibility of his roles getting confused. There was mild consternation as to what Boxer was 'about', whether the invitation to Kemmis was a ploy on the Director's part to commandeer one of his critics thus inviting him into a relationship with an aspect of the project which pre-empted his criticising it. After the seminar Boxer could claim that the project's theoretical position had been reconstituted to some extent by accomodating Kemmis's own advice.

3.2.5. Reverse Collaboration: (Hatfield and MIT)[44]

Evaluations may be 'used' or 'bent' to the purposes of the project in ways described above. But there is another kind of collusive involvement which might also render an evaluation suspect. In ethnographic data collection an evaluator may get into very close and friendly relationship with his informants in ways which might render his ability to be objective and critical also open to doubt. Commenting on the UNCAL

evaluation of the Hertfordshire Computer-Managed Mathematics Project,[45] David Jenkins puts the dilemma of gaining access to information in close-up ethnographic situations as follows:

> "There is an analogy between ethnographic research and teaching, in that teaching can be conducted within a model which allows personal closeness, or within a model which requires some sort of professional distance. In the same kind of way, it is easier for a researcher who has close and friendly relationships with project personnel to have access to data ..... On the other hand there's a danger of losing intellectual or emotional distance if you get involved too convivially with the project. Conviviality has a research weighting to it; it assists the researcher in getting data, but at the same time potentially undermines his intellectual and emotional independence."[46]

Jenkins found the Hertfordshire Computer-Managed Mathematics Project particularly difficult in this regard, because the project had a 'style and tone' that was warm and engaging. The people involved were fashionable, interesting and exciting, he met them frequently in very pleasant taverns, they went out to lunch together and discussed project matters out of work. One person would occasionally invite him home of an evening where Jenkins would listen to his records and discuss matters concerned with his personal life. So they developed a relationship that was warm and companionable.

> "I would suspect that my account of John Jaworski of the Hertfordshire project could not be disentangled from my liking for the man. I suspect that the more you legitimise an approach to evaluation which accepts the portrayal of persons the more you must consider your involvement with the people as outside your research activity.. On the other hand I would go along with D.H. Lawrence's dictum, "trust the tale, not the teller". On the whole I didn't feel that my account of Hertfordshire became oversoft because of this involvement, though other people might wish to make out that it did."[47]

The problem here is that the evaluator might have a certain loyalty to his friends and feel disinclined to criticise them when as evaluator he might more legitimately be called upon to do so. One aspect of the

problem is that of subordinating the realities and normal demands of friendship to the wider and more impelling needs of objective research and evaluative accountability. Or the other way around. Another is that the evaluator is telling the story of events in which he himself is a participant. Thus his field of vision is demarcated not by a research perspective which is circumspect in its degree of involvement, (more 'fly on the wall' to the events), but dominated by a kind of inundation or saturation in the very processes he is describing.

While these aspects of the problem of objectivity in research might seem to limit the ethnographer's ability to claw back to a scientifically valid account, what Jenkins seems to be saying is that the presentation of the 'tale' complete with the 'teller's' ambiguous position as participant, observer and raconteur, brings with it an objectivity of its own. The bias of the observer becomes more an obvious facet of the account than a subversive sub-setting undermining the research. Commenting on the similarity between his own position at Hertfordshire and that of Malcolm Parlett at the Massachusettes Institute of Technology[48] Jenkins continues:

> "... Parlett was interested in milieu theory and found himself in this loony laid-back atmosphere which he himself obviously enjoyed. The loony laid-back Parlett himself was so much a part of the scene he is describing, that his account is emotionally and technically all the more accurate. Because of his obvious involvement, his observation is more complete and his description more penetratingly presented."[49]

Like Lawrence's 'literary' teller, Parlett is imbued with a subjective 'feel' for the milieu which is astute in an intuitive way. It grasps the situation in all its emotional and interpersonal richness and completeness. Because of its wholesomeness and dramatic quality it is in

a sense less inhibited and less constrained than a consciously distanced observation otherwise would be. Looked at in this way the close-up convivial participant or naturalistic account is less problematic.

3.2.6. The Possibility of Cooption/Collusion: The Meaning of the Problem

In general, the examples cited above might be taken to indicate that the assimilation of an evaluator, with various degrees of willingness, is one factor that might render his evaluation suspect. We have dealt in particular with cooption, which involves electing or pressing a person into a role set that involves collegiate or friendly association with the group studied, with or without his consent. Also identified has been collusion, which involves the playing of secret games in emotionally empathetic settings between individuals who would more usually perceive their relationship as professionally restricted and/or characterised by rivalries or divergence of interests. Collusion is typically cloaked, so that the surface features of the formal role-relationship remain intact.

In evaluation terms, cooption involves the evaluator becoming a "virtual" member of a project team. Although still retaining a degree of separateness, due to his critical role, he refrains from overtly threatening attitudes, adopts an encouraging rather than a disapproving or judgemental stance; perhaps holding a mental reservation, on while offering supportive and helpful approaches to problems of development.

Collusion entails the adoption by an evaluator of an often tacit emotional empathy with members of the project team which is basically supportive, even though sometimes critically aware.

These two are ranked together as one category because basically, while the accompanying assumptions, overtures and social byplay may differ, the overall effect is the same. The evaluator can be seen to

lose his professional integrity and to adopt pseudo-evaluative poses, which are justified as 'formative', are not basically dishonest, but are nonetheless professionally questionable.

3.3.8. The Logic of the Problem

It may be of some usefulness to relate this incidence to participant observation methodology and give some account of the logic of the problem.

Among the possible intersubjective sources of error in techniques of participant observation as defined by Fredericks and Ludtke[50] is intensity of interaction. Pointing out that ethnographic specialists find a spectrum of possible interaction, from complete identification with the field, through participant/observer, observer as participant and observer without interaction with the field, the authors go on to examine whether with increasing participation the chance of objective observation becomes less possible. They show that the lesser degree of participation results automatically from the desire to avoid obtrusiveness on the one hand and from unwillingness to provoke negative reactions to the presence of the observer on the other.

Two specific problems emerge. One attaches to the possibility of going native where the degree of interaction with the subjects of the investigation is high, so that the probability of detached sustained observation is lessened by comparison with other less involved observers. The second problem is the possibility of role conflicts. The observer must maintain a good degree of detachment, while interacting effectively and diffusely with those he is observing.

Tensions in the role of the participant observer seem to these authors to be endemic in the research situation of observer/participants. Training, supervision and other professional tricks which are mentioned

such as time division, (dividing time between participation and observation), do not, on reflection, seem to provide a total insurance against 'subjectivity'. They fortify rather than guarantee 'objectivity'.

Other authors however support the view that participation and observation are not discreet roles inherently in tension with each other. Norbert Elias[51] thus, would hold that the problem of objectivity posed by participant observation is essentially a false one, stemming from a wrong application of models derived from the physical sciences to the methods of sociology. In the case of bodies of knowledge such as mathematics the propositions dealt with are essentially either true or false. But this is not so in other empirical investigations such as sociology.

> "People engaged in empirical research often put forward propositions or theories whose merit is that they are truer than others or... more adequate, more consistent both with observations and in themselves. In general terms, one might say it is characteristic of the scientific as distinct from non-scientific forms of solving problems, that, in the acquisition of knowledge, questions emerge and are solved as a result of an uninterrupted two-way traffic between two layers of knowledge: one that of general ideas, theories or models, and that of observations and perceptions of specific events."[52]

Thus the participant observer has not a dual function; one that of participant and the other that of the observer. His role rather is to generate knowledge by reflecting on the facts of consciousness, what he observes by participation in events. Thus the more probable certitude of his generalisation will be a function both of the accuracy of his observation and of his capacity to generalise out of his experience.

While this view is much more tolerant of evaluators who participate in the programmes they are evaluating, either by making "buddies" of the other workers, or by themselves taking part in the work, this factor is

necessarily controlled for, and taken into account, in whatever critical assessments such a participant observer might make both as regards their adequacy as appraisals and their consistency with observation and in themselves.

The detachment of the participant evaluator thus depends as much on the understanding he gives of the milieu in which he is observer as on the reader's ability to take this factor into account in whatever judgement he makes of the critical appraisals of the evaluator. In this sense, the evaluator is not so much offering judgements or readymade assessments as providing the reader with the kind of 'processed' generalised or generalisable information which will help him draw his own conclusions.

In thinking about how accommodating evaluators seem to be, one might be led to suppose that their situation is essentially one of weakness. A role so capable of being fudged at the edges might seem at first glance to have no real position at all. Yet a closer look would indicate a role of some potential power.

Since an evaluator has to inform the decision making process, he might deem it proper to dig behind the public face of the project and find out what makes it really tick, or not. So he may assume it appropriate to lose himself as an evaluative person altogether and <u>in one shared involvement</u> or in <u>many</u> such, either formally engaged or in informally contrived, to apply himself to the "feel" of the project, and to how people interact within it. Gaining access in this way to what is private information makes the evaluator a very knowledgeable person about project concerns, and this knowledge if turned to certain uses could be very damaging.

So evaluations can be said to have two faces one accommodating and congenial, the other knowledgeable, critical and potentially damaging. It is understandable that projects might react differently depending on which face is being presented.

3.3.1. Curtailing or Deflecting the evaluation activities

We now turn to second cluster of outcomes identified by the Aggregate Pathology Model as likely to occur in evaluation activity and modify the ascribed or achieved role of the evaluator. I refer to attempts to curb an evaluator or his products by formal limitation, either renegotiating the scope of an evaluation contract or curtailing it in other ways. It may be inferred that the 'stop' is put on the runaway evaluation gallop at the point when its anticipated output is perceived as critical.

Again, this class of occurrence found its way into the Aggregate Pathology Model (APM) but the sequence of presentation here begins with my own initial alertness to the area as one of potential problems pertaining to roles and products. I first encountered the issue at Shannon.

3.3.2. The Shannon Incident: SESP curtails its evaluation

When I began to work on the Shannon evaluation I felt I had fairly wide brief. However when I criticised the administrative arrangements, in the Second Interim Report[53] and in particular commented on the relatively small amount of time which the part-time teachers - (members of the project staff and the director) were able to give to the project in the field, I had been taken to task by the director, and told to continue with preparation of testing instruments and with reporting on classroom observations. I was given to understand that I was to comment

on the implementation of the programme and not to advert to the way the project was being run, or to look into the administrative arrangements or structure of the project.

The whole incident of the Second Interim Report[54] was fraught with pain and some confusion in my mind, and so much pressure was brought to bear on me at the time that I acceeded to the director's wishes feeling something like a miscreant schoolboy who had been granted a reprieve. Yet it did strike me as odd that I had been censored for bringing to notice what I regarded as a fundamental weakness. The administrative arrangements in any project are obviously of critical importance to success, and many of the defects which I found in the project at that time could, in my view, be traced to the way the project team viewed the nature and scope of their work, and to the way the project had been set up and run.

There was no doubting the director's energy and enthusiasm, nor the obvious willingness of the part-time writers to get into the writing and reviewing of materials. But the director, it had seemed to me, was already fully occupied with running a busy school, a task demanding enough in itself. And the writers were unwilling to do anything more with the development of the programme than just write, and get on with their own teaching, some of which was taken up with the implementation of the programme.

In a sense there was a greatly appealing logic behind the apparently makeshift arrangement of SESP. The project had emerged from a school. It was not a production based in a distant University, furthered by people far, and perhaps long, removed from the craft of teaching. It was being promoted by an active headmaster and produced by a set of teachers who were partially involved in the day to day tasks of its implementation. This meant that as far as other teachers and principals

were concerned in other schools involved in the project this was a no nonsense professional job, being carried out by people accustomed to the daily "grind" of schooling.

This element of practicality had been one of the aspects of the programme in which Director O Donnabhain prided himself, as he was dedicated to developing teachers as a prime educational resource. This also probably helped when he went looking to the Department of Education for money to back his project. It was in fact a medium sized curriculum development initiative achieved at relatively little expense. Besides my own grant only the secretary was costing the project a fulltime salary. The good will of the teachers who moved in with the work was elicited in the knowledge that there were very few perks going to anyone taking on the programme, and little if anything to those directly involved in the production of it.

However, while I was aware of this strength, there was an inherent weakness in the arrangements. The project had not, in my view, been sufficiently clearly thought out, it was based on the conventional wisdom of teachers, rather than on any imaginatively conceived plan, and it was not, I felt, being sufficiently vigorously implemented on the ground. What the director had done in effect was reinvent the centre periphery model, with his school as the centre, but without the advantage of fulltime staff freewheeling about the peripheral schools, helping the teachers in the implementation of a some way coordinated plan.

The director had felt overly threatened by my criticism in the Second Interim Report[55] and was stung into a heavy attack on the evaluation, which he accused of incompetence. He saw to it though, that competent or not, the evaluator was not going to be allowed the opportunity to exercise the independence his status afforded him of

conducting an evaluation of the whole programme. The administration, structure, financial and other arrangements were declared "off limits" to the evaluative exercise.

Although I did not agree with this restriction of the evaluation I went along with it, content to see what further transpired. But I noted that my role as evaluator was being curtailed, I was no longer independent. Support from the University 'consultant' now became negligible. The evaluation was henceforth very much under the control of the project Director, and, through him, subject to the influence of the Steering Committee. Although I was subsequently invited to comment openly on the programme again, and did so, my opinion on administrative matters never got into writing subsequently, as it did not come into the brief now assigned me by the director. I did not feel sufficiently strong in my position as evaluator to contest my new situation. The curtailment of my role in this instance had an interesting sequel.

3.3.3. Further Curtailment: The redirection of SESP and elimination

In June 1975, following publication of the Summary Report[56] at the end of the evaluation of the first years of SESP, word filtered through that the document had not been well received by the Financial Committee of the Department of Education responsible for funding research.

As has been pointed out (Ch.2 p.) the Financial Committee members as sponsors were conservative, whereas the younger department people, such as SESP Steering Committee Member Turlough O'Connor, were more au fait with evaluation theory and encouraged the 'illuminative' tone of the evaluation report. What ensued on publication of the report was something of a contentious set-to within the department in which some blame was attached to the report for its alleged inferior quality.

The upshot of this was that when the continuation project of SESP was being negotiated with the finance committee, that body refused to fund an evaluator. The continuation project of SESP was designed to bring the project's social and environmental studies programme two further years upwards into second level education. The original SESP 1972-1975 was an exercise for first year of second level education, and was now to be further developed to Third Year Intermediate Certificate, (roughly the equivalent of O levels). It was proposed that a research officer be appointed to develop an appropriate system of assessment for the project.

The pertinent job specification advertised for the new research person in the continuing project had a fine sounding title: Research Officer/Assessment. The oblique stroke after 'Officer' over-promised. It should have been a colon.

When the 'new' methods of assessment congealed into a terminal examination, SESP Steering Committee member Thomas O Connaill, the Department Inspector responsible for monitoring the new assessment was delighted. "In fact, it really works like the old exam" he remarked gleefully, encasing his innovation file in his departmental briefcase. The Research Officer/Assessment had returned with the bacon. But in doing so he was now easily recognisable not as an independent critical voice but as an arm of the civil service, a functionary in the Department's assessment branch.

3.3.4. SESP as an evaluation rout:

There was also another interesting sequel to the publication of the Summary Report.[57] Several years after its publication, in Summer 1977, I sat an interview for a lecturing job in the Department of Education at Maynooth College. This renowned seminary for Catholic priests had

become, shortly before, a constituent college of the National University,[58] and had thrown its doors open to the laity, admitting women for the first time to its halls. For the interview I presented lengthy screeds from the SESP Summary Report,[59] intending to impress the reverend and other gentlemen of the interview board into giving me a job. They were quite impassive concerning what was, at the time, an unusual document portraying an experiment of a kind new to Irish education. And Br. Seamus O Suilleabhain, the Christian Brother Professor of Education at Maynooth, wanted to know why it was that the document had not been circulated to Universities, since it would have been of some interest.

Of course O Donnobhain, modest as always and wanting to keep himself under wraps, may have been even more reticent when the report had sparked off an unseemly argument about his project in the Department of Education. Not wanting SESP to be affected with controversy he had issued a limited publication of about a hundred or so copies, most of which were distributed among teachers and others directly concerned with SESP.

3.3.5. Dublin Humanities: evaluation on sufferance

At the time, as I was well aware, similar dysfunctions and issues were emerging in the Dublin Humanities Project.[60] When acting as SESP evaluator and later as Research Officer/Assessment to the Continuing Project, I had paid occasional visits to Trinity College where the Public Examinations Evaluation Project (PEEP)[61] was housed in an outbuilding near the campus, a restored Dublin Georgian Building in Westmoreland Street. Set up in 1973 PEEP was exploring new ways of conducting the Public Examinations, in particular the Intermediate Certificate. PEEP during 1973-74 was giving its technological help with SESP's testing programme. Professor John Heywood had two able and friendly officers,

Research Officer and an Assistant Director respectively, Seamus McGuinness and Dennistone Murphy. We sometimes gossiped about the evaluation happenings of The Dublin Humanities Project.

The Dublin Humanities Project, a Stenhouse-modelled Humanities Curriculum Project which started in 1971, was housed in the same University building with PEEP. Unlike SESP, which was directly funded by the Department of Education, DHP was funded by the Vocational Education Authority through a local Committee. Ultimately however the funds came from the Department of Education which took an interest, mainly through its Development Branch,[62] in what was going on at DHP.

The director of the Dublin Humanities Project was Anton Trant, an ex principal of Ballyfermot Vocational School, who had it as his aim to bring the Stenhouse Humanities Curriculum Project development style to Dublin. He saw himself as a curriculum researcher, a reflective developer, and in true Stenhouse style was radically opposed to evaluation.

By late 1973 some members of the Development Branch in the Department of Education, notably O'Connor, were urging evaluation on Anton Trant. As has been hinted above,[63] the Development Branch had been created inside the Department to help with research and with innovation projects, and to much resentment,[64] young bloods from the department were appointed to the branch, bypassing the system of seniority - the usual method of promotion. From contacts with Schools Council projects,[65] Development Branch workers were knowledgeable about evaluation and were increasingly insistent that Trant cooperate in producing an evaluation. Eventually Bernard O Flaherty was appointed as evaluator to the Dublin Humanities Project. Still reluctant to spring loose an evaluator into

his DHP, and conscious also of the need to develop an alternative Intermediate Certificate format for the burgeoning DHP., Trant sidled O Flaherty to a convenient perch in assessment.[66]

The dichotomy in the Department's thinking between research and evaluation made this move possible. It looked at the time as though Trant were playing the Department's general confusion about the meaning of evaluation against the Development Branch's insistence on its own versions. To the conservative department mind, evaluation meant research or statistical analysis into an aspect of the programme in question. This interpretation could congenially accept the development of assessment procedures which could statistically monitor, without "subjective" critiques, the achievement of the programme's objectives. What O Connor wanted was an ongoing critique of the project - a portrayal of its strengths and weaknesses in a responsive way. Trant accepted an evaluator, but by putting him in assessment he neutralised O Connor's demand while putting the Development Branch on the defensive within the Department over its interpretation of the evaluator's role.

Behind these moves were elements in the Irish context of a wider debate, it may seem relevant to touch on them here. The more typical understanding of the curriculum developer in Schools Council Projects had been that of enthusiast with a strong sense of urgency driving ahead with the production of materials and with getting teachers to use them in the classroom. Such a developer was thought to need a researcher who would take an "objective" view of his work measuring achievement by the objectives set at the outset of his programme.[67]

Stenhouse did not share this view. Neither did Anton Trant. For them the real research took place in the classroom where teachers tested out the curriculum being developed.

> "... the function of curriculum research and development, as of curriculum initiatives taken by teachers, ought to be seen not as some externalised kind of innovation, but as part of the natural process of the improvement of the sort of teaching through a progressively more intelligent definition of the situation and a refinement in the practice of the art which responds to that definition."[68]

Stenhouse would support the view that a director with this idea in mind does not need an evaluator. In his view, the director himself is the evaluator/researcher imbued with a spirit of inquiry and with curiosity about the possible effects of certain research activities (active research) on existing classroom situations. Significantly, Stenhouse had offered his own HCP evaluator, Barry MacDonald, only a limited brief as 'case study officer', but MacDonald, non-untypically, found ways of expanding the 'office'. Whatever its theoretical and research pretensions HCP had an inbuilt philosophy of pragmatism - if it worked it was good. For Trant it did and it was. He persisted in his views about evaluation.

However, the Development Branch people vigorously constrained Trant still and in 1974 Malcolm Skilbeck, then Director of the Education Centre, New University of Ulster, picked up the brief for a thorough and rapid portrayal. Although adopting a critical stance to organization and developments on the ground, the evaluation took as given such matters as project rationale, and developmental stance.[69] Trant continued his basic policy on evaluation and O Flaherty remained on as researcher, developing, refining and testing the assessment procedures of the DHP.[70]

Thus some deflection of evaluation towards surrogate less damaging tasks such as test development occurred in the seventies in both of the curriculum Development projects being developed in Ireland at that time. And this restricted notion held until Irish Curriculum Development projects came to be funded by the EEC Social Fund.[71]

3.3.6. A Reverse Bid: John Elliot and the Schools Council Progress in Learning Science Project[72]

Interesting instances of the reverse process can be cited, where evaluators have managed either de jure or de facto to extend their brief. Several critical examples relate to the desire of qualitative evaluators to widen their legitimate range of interest to include the logic of the problem and broad issues of political context or project management. Evaluators hold that very often projects run into problems of implementation which stem largely from administrative decisions. They want the right to ask whether the structures were inadequate, or the day-to-day arrangements inappropriate, or the pedagogical rationale incomprehensible to those implementing it on the ground. Freedom to criticise these possible inadequacies they regard as part of their evaluative stock-in-trade.

As is clear, not all developers would take this view. When John Elliot took on the Schools Council Learning in Science Project in 1975, he recalls that his contract pre-empted him from making any comment at all about the management of this project. Although dissatisfied with this arrangement he went along with it for a time until he discovered that many of the problems he was encountering stemmed from what he considered problematic decisions of management, and he insisted on saying so in his report. But this was not well received by the Schools Council who had commissioned the evaluation in the first place, and on Elliot's persistence in maintaining and including his view, the report containing it was not published, receiving only limited circulation.[73]

In a sense, Elliot attempted to renegotiate his contract in that instance in favour of a more open independent evaluation. The opposite seems to more usually occur, management can seek to renegotiate the contract of an evaluation which it considers to have been untoward or to have over run its brief. But either way, the phenomenon indicates a socially structured unease about the role of an evaluation or the legitimate scope of its reportage.

3.3.7. The rights of the sponsor: censorship of the SCSP Report

In 1978 at a meeting in Stranmillis Training College, Belfast, Chocolate Cream Soldiers[74] the evaluation report on the Schools Cultural Studies Project, (SCSP, located at the Education Centre NUU)[75] ran into difficulty over the "portrayal" of persons. The co-directors of the evaluation, Jenkins and O Connor, held that the rationale for the inclusion of personal portrayals in evaluation reports was that personal interaction and style influence decisions and hence qualifies the overall implementation of the programme. A responsive evaluation, it was held, could legitimately seek to include personal portrayals as part of the attempt to understand what goes on in projects. This was particularly appropriate for SCSP where teachers had opted for critical self-analysis and self-confrontation as part of a programme to reconstruct Societal values away from unexamined sectarian presuppositions.

The director of the Programme, Alan Robinson, found the inclusion of such portrayals in "poor taste" and at worst "offensive" to some teachers concerned in them. But administrative reasons were also cogently argued for excluding portrayals from the report. Tom Cowan, ex-Principal Inspector of the Department of Education in Northern Ireland (DENI) and chairman of the SCSP Management Committee held, that the publication of the portrayals would so offend the generality of teachers

as to jeopardise future efforts by the Department to develop liberal curricula in Northern Ireland Schools. The possibility of exposing teachers so publicly, he thought, would break the element of trust between the Department and the teachers, a trust essential to instigating and maintaining developments in the future.[76]

In the ensuing arguments over publication rights, the Management Committee sought in effect to renegotiate the publication aspect of the contract previously agreed between it and the co-directors. It was held that despite the contractual understandings, the Department of Education had a right of veto to exclude certain unacceptable passages from the report. In the ensuing stalemate the Report Chocolate Cream Soldiers was never officially published, although achieving limited circulation through use in in-service teacher education.

3.3.8. Brittle negotiations: UNCAL and Programme Committee

Another attempted re-negotiation of contract is recorded in accounts of UNCAL.[77] Barry MacDonald and Robert Stake, who was a consultant for the first phase of the evaluation, treated the policy guideline of the DES-led Programme Committee itself as eligible for collection as data. Stake and MacDonald offered, a little cheekily, as their first product, a playlet in dialogue which implicitly commented upon the deliberations and processes which the Civil Service holds privy to itself. The Committee did not applaud. Even when re-offered as consecutive prose the report was not well received indicating that the issue was one of content as well as style. The Committee were said to have been 'horrified',[78] holding that the evaluation had been contracted to evaluate the programme, and that the political context was not

included in the brief.[79] MacDonald contended that the Committee was part of the programme, the only part functioning at that time, and as such could be legitimately regarded as within the evaluation brief.[80]

MacDonald had never been asked to clarify his interpretation of the UNCAL proposal vis a vis Programme Committee and the macro-politics of the innovation, and he had neglected, perhaps deliberately, to make his position explicit. Certainly the MacDonald interpretation had never in any formal sense been cleared by the sponsors. It was subsequently held by some members of UNCAL[81] that had the macro-politics of the exercise not been part of UNCAL's evaluation brief, then MacDonald may well have refused the contract. Jenkins, however believes this view to be a false one. Certainly had Programme Committee known that concerns it felt to be its own might come under the evaluators hammer as 'part of the programme' then UNCAL would not have been given the contract.[82]

The critical point at issue here is twofold, whether any particular evaluation has or has not been given contractual independence, and whether evaluation, as an activity, is best conducted from an independent vantage point. Stenhouse, for example, argues that the ideal curriculum project director is himself a curriculum researcher engaged in a kind of self-evaluation. He proposes a strictly limited role for his 'auditors', although allowing their independence.

> "But there remains of course the accountability of the person involved in funded curriculum research and development. And certainly here, as a project director, I would be happy to have an evaluator or auditor or project historian whose task it was to look critically at the conduct of the project both in respect of its internal management and its management of contacts with the system."[83]

Bureaucrats are not used to being subject to public scrutiny. Both they and project directors prefer to remain "under cover" and seek anonymity as a protection in any research report commenting on their

work. On both sides attempts to renegotiate the evaluation contracts to tend to reflect these basic perceptions and preferences by pushing any clarification in the preferred direction.

3.3.9. The possibility of re-negotiating a more restricted contract. The logic of the problem

Again, it is possible to collect sufficient evidence supportive of this category in the recent experiences of evaluators to treat this adaptive strategy as important in the social world of evaluation.

Helen Simons refers to the informality with which many evaluation settings are arranged.[84] While this lack of formality might seem at first glance to favour the independence of the evaluator, according to Simons it

> "actually results in much greater evaluator vulnerability to controlling pressures from those who have power in the system. In other words, in the event of the evaluation developing in ways that were not anticipated and are not desired by powerful sponsors or subjects, the evaluator seldom has the protection of a written agreement that specifies the meaning and consequences of independent evaluation. The problem is compounded by the fact that many evaluators have relatively low status, work in isolation and are at risk in a career sense compared with those in powerful institutional positions who employ or sponsor their work."[85]

This statement highlights the weakness of the evaluator who may have no written contract to refer to, and is under pressure to bend the evaluation to the interests of sponsors. Simons refers to these interests as served by allegiance, confidentiality and service.

Allegiance is a form of personal loyalty which individuals working in closed positions of power and trust sometimes exact from those who work for and with them. The demand of allegiance causes self-evident difficulty for an independent evaluator, whose criticisms tend in such circumstances to be treated as disloyal acts, apt to spread unrest.

Confidentiality concerns the private anonymous world in which persons in positions of power, especially of bureaucratic power, typically clothe themselves. This anonymity is usually seen as conducive to the proper exercise of authority, without the possibility of personal criticism or blame. A public critique, insofar as it invades this world, may be taken as a threat to be moved against and crushed before the position of power is eroded by lack of public confidence and trust. An independent evaluator may have knowledge that is relevant to his purposes, but may feel constrained not to use it.

Service connotes the subservient role in which even a 'soi disant' "independent" evaluator may find himself when the management of the programme or institution being evaluated appoints itself as sole audience for the evaluation. In such circumstances information quietly more conducive to improved management and control may be sought rather than an independent critique in which management itself is subject to public scrutiny.

Negotiation involves discussion with a view to settlement or compromise through mutual agreement. Renegotiation will typically occur where time or circumstance or both have so altered the situation that parties to the settlement can no longer accept it as originally agreed, or where the understandings are insufficient to cope with new circumstances, and must be 'clarified on appeal' following the analogy of law. In both circumstances the renegotiation will be a test of the political strengths of the parties.

Sometimes a sponsor or programme director may not fully understand the scope or nature of an evaluation as set out in the contract. The evaluator may have given a wider interpretation to the brief than was expected, touched on areas of project operations that had not been anticipated and all this in ways that might prove unacceptable. Equally

managers may wish to restrict an evaluation to within acceptable areas, e.g. classroom operations, and to exclude others from comment, e.g. management, or to outlaw certain kinds of treatment, e.g. portraiture.

Alternatively, managers or sponsors may be disillusioned entirely with evaluation and seek deflect it into "less damaging tasks", e.g. testing, case study, or other forms of research which being 'objective' and general in scope will not touch on the personalities or on the sensitive processes of innovation, and are not open to individual interpretation or subtle personal penetrations. Deflection, in these circumstances, is the warding-off of a perceived threat by giving the threatening individual something less threatening to do.

3.4.1. The Possibility of Distancing or Rejecting

A further category that appears to merit scrutiny as part of an 'aggregate pathology model' is the tendency for those coping with an evaluation perceived to be threatening or deviant, to find a way of 'distancing' the product or 'rejecting' the findings.

To reject is to refuse to recognise or acquiesce in a proposition or activity or to refuse to adopt some process or product that may have been originally thought congenial, convenient or appropriate. Rejection of an evaluation is a repudiation either of the evaluator or the product. This rebuff by implication denies the evaluation's right to pass independent critical judgement A rejection can be formal or informal, partial or total. A formal rejection tends to be attended by rituals of excoriation in which an attempt is made publicly to justify spurning the product. An informal rejection on the other hand simply ignores or passes over the report, putting it on ice, on the shelf or in the bottom drawer, or turning it to other purposes or uses than those for which it was intended.

Distancing is the interposition of space between individuals to avoid a perceived threat. The space may be physical or psychological. Distancing involves a partial removal of one or other of the parties to an evaluation from the other's presence as a way of protecting what are perceived as vital interests. It attaches to products and to persons. When concerning products, it usually takes the form of informal rejection. When the persons in an evaluation are concerned, distancing involves spatial and other arrangements which provide more scope and independence of function for one or other or all evaluation parties.

3.4.2. Distancing and rejection: Shannon Revisited

Again following the 'natural history' of the research, the plan is first to revisit the problems faced in my own evaluation of the Shannon SESP project, before collecting other evidence that might be accumulated under the same heading.

My experience of 'distancing' manoeuvres relates to a time during the course of the SESP evaluation when I applied to each of the principles of schools in the project for an interview. Each of them obliged, arranging time and place. When the time came for the Shannon Principal, Diarmaid O Donnobhain, (also Project Director), to be interviewed I found myself talking to a Senior Member of staff and one of the members of the project team Der O Mahony. No explanation was given for this change of personnel. I was simply told by O Mahoney that he would tell me anything I wanted to know about the school.

I had of course sensitized O Donnobhain before when I had broached his own role of director and criticised the administration of the project. He had made it clear then that project administration was not to be brought up again as a topic for evaluation. He did not like to be probed about it, declined press interviews or off the cuff statements in

official or semi-official situations, where he might be quoted. Indeed, everything he said in public about the school or the project was a careful understatement, factual, but pointedly lacking in opinion or speculation.

This attitude to the release of information was widely attributed to an inherent caginess and mistrust of what gratuitous damage could be done to his own, the school's, or the project's public reputation by rumour and misinterpretations. It may also have been due to an effort to retain aloofness, a sense of mystique or integrity which had to do with his own self image as a man of great competence, inspiring confidence and reliability. At that time, I was still smarting from the rejection of my Second Interim Report.[86] I did not want further recrimination and allowed this imposition of further distance between myself and the director.

I first suffered actual formal rejection of an evaluation report when the Director of SESP had earlier refused to accept, and disallowed the Second Interim Report[87] in December/January 1973-4, an account of which has already been given in chapter 2. It may be useful here to remind ourselves that the criticism of the report related to its perceived critical stance on several issues faced by the project, and that the rejection took the form of a public arraignment.[88] Denunciation centred on allegations that my judgements went beyond available evidence ('not one single shred of evidence...')[89] and that the failures of the report could be personalised into an attack on the professional integrity of its author. The attempt in effect sought to unite the group[90] against the evaluator, labelled as deviant, a move sustained by large-scale moral entrepreneurship at several levels.[91]

I recall that physical closeness to project activities at Shannon (my office was next door to the director/headmaster's one) created problems of separate identity for me that perhaps a little more physical or intellectual remove might have forestalled. Chats with University people at Galway and Dublin provided me with opportunities for a more detailed perspective on my evaluative work. But except when doing my rounds, O Donnabhain never liked the idea of my working off the site. When Jack Noonan[92] joined SESP as Assistant Director in the summer of 1975 he confided to me that when I took to writing the final report at home, O Donnabhain expressed fear that the Department of Education would complain that my office space was not being adequately used.

When the Aggregate Pathology Model was subjected to peer group validation, both by personal correspondence building on professional gossip, and at the Third Cambridge Conference on Naturalistic Inquiry and Educational Evaluation, other examples accumulated, offering further support to the framework and analysis.

3.4.3. Distancing: Jenkins at LBS

While undertaking an evaluation of a London Business School CML Project for UNCAL,[94] Jenkins was on one occasion physically distanced by being obliged to watch a management seminar on closed-circuit television. The reasons given was that the pedagogical encounter was too precious, too personal to be contaminated by contact with an evaluator; that the encounter in the room was subject to a 'psychological contract' to which tutors were the only privileged members, and that the LBS tutors feared the ethnographic equivalent of 'measurement interference', that Jenkins' presence would itself distort the instructional milieu. Jenkins subsequently commented on the experience:

> "The whole point about the video is that it is a one way message. You can pick up what they are doing, but there is no chance of asking questions, raising eyebrows or looking surprised... The whole thing was seem as so precious and so sacrosanct that they could only let an outsider in at the risk of shattering its ethos, a bit like bringing an interloper into the confessional."[95]

This assertion of pedagogical mystique became a justificatory framework for the imposition of social distance on the 'video-outsider'. Jenkins remained a beggar at the gates, forced to be content with any crumbs of information that fell from the rich man's table. Video observers are pure observers; the role is definitively non-participant.[96]

3.4.4. Rejection: the UNCAL experience

The UNCAL evaluation of the National Development Project in Computer Assisted Learning attracted a whole history of under-used or rejected products. The irony of this history of undervaluing is the more pronounced due to UNCAL Director Barry MacDonald's commitment to his version of 'democratic' evaluation which identifies and attempts to serve the needs of a number of 'audiences'. Perhaps the final question is whether the information needs being met were the felt or the attributed ones (what Cambridge Three[97] called the dilemma of whether to feed the judge or the judgement)

The history of rejected products began early in UNCAL's life with the disbelief and indignation that greeted the Stake - MacDonald playlet, offered to Programme Committee as serious political commentary in a helpfully digestable form. In general UNCAL reports on projects were better received in the step-funding meetings themselves than when re-processed for executive assimilation by Programme Committee. Disaffection centred on symbolic irritations like length, personal portrayals, convolutions of style, incomprehensibility of 'jargon' and

the like. There can be little doubt that part of the dissatisfaction came from UNCAL's view that Programme Committee and the macro politics of the whole CAL initiatives came within its investigative brief.

UNCAL Director Barry MacDonald claims to have been disappointed that an effort at adequately and fairly representing the projects to Programme Committee ended up in some instances by not representing them at all.[98] MacDonald felt some responsibility for the failures, as the primary purpose of the kind of evaluation he called 'democratic' was to inform all interested parties concerning what went on in the enclosures of education. According to MacDonald some blame rested with Programme Committee, which he felt had not adhered to the letter or spirit of the original contract.[99]

The final insult to these other injuries was when the Final Evaluation Report,[100] admittedly delivered to Elizabeth House behind schedule, achieved a circulation of precisely nil, not one of its four hundred plus pages ever seeing the light of day.

3.4.5. Rejection: The South Glamorgan Remedial Reading Project

As part of his UNCAL brief David Jenkins was assigned the South Glamorgan Remedial Reading Computer Assisted Teaching (CAT) Project.[101] Designed by outside consultants Peter Young and Colin Tyre, the project ran into difficulties of implementation. The 'outside' design had problems of 'transplant' into the 'organism' of South Glamorgan's Local Authority network of schools, the 'client' body.[102] This difficulty allied to a questionable performance by the local manager, had virtually run the project into the ground before the advent of UNCAL's step-funding critique. By that time at least three of the groups involved, consult-

ants, project team and Glamorgan L.E.A., were mainly concerned with avoiding the allocation of blame for the failure of the project. This concern, according to Jenkins, was "clearly pathological."[103]

The South Glamorgan Remedial Reading Project had already attracted the worried attention of the NDPCAL Director and Programme Committee. A number of reports had already been submitted by Programme personnel, HMI and other parties. But following the agreed procedures only the UNCAL report was actually read by those involved in the project. This concentrated the flak on the UNCAL report, although according to Jenkins it was the least damaging of those being considered. Jenkins' UNCAL report suggested that there were lessons that might be learned from the difficulties, relating to three areas: the management of innovation, the viability of CML in remedial work, and South Glamorgan as a milieu for curriculum change. Jenkins chose not to depart from his usual practice of including portrayals of project personnel in his reports.[105] The actual substance of the report need not concern us here; it attracted widespread criticism and vilification, and was widely condemned as 'lightweight' and otherwise "inadequate".[106]

As has been pointed out, UNCAL[107] reports were submitted to project teams for negotiation of content. This procedure usually took place at step-funding meetings when UNCAL and the project argued out the details of the report in the presence of NDPCAL director and other interested parties. What happened at South Glamorgan was in clear breach of the agreed procedures. Jenkins relates:

> "By that time I was quite used to the problems associated with negotiating reports and supported our rather benign, if naive, attempt to share the responsibility for the data and its interpretation with the people under observation. I went to South Glamorgan thinking I was faced, merely with an interesting technical problem, and was reasonably confident that I would be able to negotiate the

> content of the report and not lose the confidence of the project. I hoped they might recognize my attempt to be fair and balanced.[108]

This is important comment. It shows the trust of the evaluator in the negotiating procedures established to ensure the fairness, accuracy and balance of the reports. However the project people bypassed this process entirely.

Peter Young, one of the project consultants, wrote a strongly-worded rebuttal of the report, attacking its content and style. More fundamentally, he criticised what he saw as its lack of any conceptual framework against which the central issue raised, the relationship between design and implementation, could be analysed. Procedurally, the response was sent over the heads of the UNCAL team to the Director of NDPCAL Richard Hooper. Hooper's response was to legitimise this use of the hotline, and he collaborated at least to some extent in the definition of the report as deviant.[109]

Thus not only were the established negotiation procedures ignored, but the director of NDPCAL himself acquiesced in the broken arrangement. Jenkins records:

> "Richard (Hooper) implicitly treated the refusal of the project to act as postbox for the report as a reasonable response in the circumstances.... Richard (Hooper) felt that we had overreached ourselves in this situation. He had always seen the UNCAL brief as a bit risky and thought that this time we had bitten off a bit more than we could chew."[100]

Whether by good fortune or by a shrewd opportunism, Young had hit on one of the weak nodes in the UNCAL armoury, its relationship with NDPCAL Director Richard Hooper and the Programme Committee. The attack ensured that subsequent discussion would be about UNCAL and not about the substance of its report. This neatly-achieved coup turned the tables on the evaluation, putting it in the dock instead of the project. Jenkins:

> "So far as the project was concerned they thought that they could literally see us off by a total rejection of the framework in which the report had been put forward. Their tack was to reject the framework not the report."[111]

Thus again the tactic of concentrating rebuttal on supposed lack of evidence, on the evaluator's presentation and the overall competence of the evaluation is again seen in part as a counter ploy to draw attention away from the (more damaging) substance of the evaluator's argument.

3.4.6. Rejection by Stealth: the suppression of an internal report on CAMOL

Situations differ from evaluation to evaluation, and occasionally the public forums of debates about projects make open expositions and consequent defences a matter of necessity. At Shannon for example, an ostensibly independent evaluation found itself in a very weak position competing for physical and intellectual space. A management bent on making its mark might prefer a vigorous confrontation in such conditions.

In some circumstances the rejection of a report by stealth might be preferred if it could be got away with. Informal rejection is no les definite and sometimes even more damaging to an evaluation than a more formal dismissal. Harry McMahon pulled off such a coup in the case of Linda Hutchinson's internal report[112] on the NUU CAMOL project, which he directed and which was set up in 1975 with the object of using CML (Computer Managed Learning) techniques to individualize learning processes in a course on curriculum development taught as part of NUU's teacher training programme.[113] MacMahon was ambitious for his programme; seeing it as the prototype for similar developments elsewhere in teacher education. However, the student teachers on whom he was trying out his

computer managed techniques were not as enthusiastic as he was about the potential of the project, finding its processes somewhat tedious and boring.

This issue had not escaped the notice of Linda Hutchinson who was conducting some researches into the programme on MacMahon's behalf as a loosely-defined internal evaluator. Her questionnaire and subsequent report documented quite a deal of student dissatisfaction with the Programme.[114]

Fearful that Hutchinson's conclusions might undermine his hopes, MacMahon sought to marginalise and submerge the report before the step funding meeting of CAMOL to be held on 23,24 July 1975.[115] It was not put forward as part of the documentation for the meeting. Jenkins, who conducted the UNCAL evaluation for the step-funding meeting, interpreted his action as follows:

> "What Harry (MacMahon) was doing.... was a piece of agenda setting. One of the freedoms he had in the situation was that as Project Director he could put forward the material to be considered at the meeting. Because Linda (Hutchinson) was an 'internal' evaluator she did not have independent access to the step-funding meeting. Thus her evaluation could be rejected simply by leaving if off the agenda, which was what happened."[116]

The 'internal' evaluation of Hutchinson had a different power relationship to the project and its director than had the members of the UNCAL evaluation team. In a sense it could be seen as "servicing" the needs of the project by providing feedback information to the director. MacMahon had set himself up as the audience for Hutchinson's report, and could use or not use the information provided in a manner to suit his own discretion. Had he received a favourable report from Hutchinson it is unlikely that he would not have used it to further his position at step-funding.

UNCAL, however, had access, not only to the step-funding meeting, but also to all relevant information about the project. It thus was in a different power position vis-a-vis the project director than was the internal evaluation. It was empowered to make matters of the private evaluation public if it thought the best interests of NDPCAL demanded it.

Inquiring into the resignation of Hutchinson from the project Jenkins uncovered her rejected report and was able to incorporate it into the wider perspectives of his own critique.[117] The details of this use of a rejected report need not concern us here. Suffice to say that Jenkins embodied some of the observations and comments, and MacMahon was forced to respond to some of the criticisms in his own report at the step-funding meeting.[118] The critical point at issue is that when a director sponsors an 'internal' evaluation, he himself becomes in a certain sense its sole audience, and in the absence of a more independent critique may feel free to use the information presented by the evaluation in the manner best calculated to promote his own perceptions of the project's best interests. He may see fit, therefore, to suppress information which he foresees might be publicly damaging to those interests, thereby indulging in a kind of rejection-by-stealth, shedding embarrassing information simply by not producing or proclaiming it.

3.4.7. Rejection: MacDonald's banishment from Glasgow

Next we look at a physical banishment, which neatly combines rejection with the imposition of physical distance. Barry MacDonald was evaluating for UNCAL the use of the computer in medical training at a Glasgow University project directed by Willie Dunn.[119] At one stage in the evaluation MacDonald on what seemed rather spurious grounds, leaving an ('incriminating') field notebook behind, talking to a secretary

('subversively?') while waiting for a taxi, was ordered off the site, and declared persona non grata. Kemmis was drafted in to continue the evaluation for UNCAL.[120]

According to Jenkins[121] the incident reflected the clash of two politically strong and competitive personalities. Dunn was widely seen as a very powerful entrepreneur with considerable manipulative skill, very ambitious for his project and anxious to have the information and research he generated acquire a national reputation, both in the world of CAL and in the powerful medical associations. Dunn was more anxious to use the evaluation to promote his product, than to have some of its uncertainties exposed to public debate. Although he respected MacDonald's perspicacity he would have preferred a watchdog more at heel and more ready to proffer supportive perspectives MacDonald, however, was equally as competitive, intelligent and as highly motivated to sniff out and negotiate into the public domain whatever his disinterested inquiry might uncover without fear or favour, particularly as to Dunn.

Jenkins characterises what ensued as follows:

> "It just had not occurred to Willy (Dunn) that he wouldn't be able to outmanoeuvre Barry at every turn. At the point where he felt he might not have things entirely his own way he manufactured a split."[122]

Both MacDonald and Dunn faced possible loss of face. Once the original split had established their Scottish 'bottle', the balance of political advantage shifted to favour a rapprochment. Jenkins comments:

> "My best guess is that Willy (Dunn) felt the incident leading to the split, but that in its legacy he would benefit more than Barry (MacDonald)"[123]

Again management of a project and its evaluation had found themselves in confrontation. There was a conflict of interests Any loss of face that might be attributed to his manufactured break with MacDonald perhaps seemed more acceptable to Dunn than the loss of face he might

have incurred by allowing, the evaluation tail wag the project dog. At least the confrontation established boundaries, so that UNCAL would be more cautious in supposing Dunn to be bluffing. But it is at least possible that though such rituals at excoriation, the actual balance of power can itself be altered in favour of one protagonist or another.

Since a number of the above examples come out of the UNCAL evaluation, it may be useful to speculate why the modus operandi designed by UNCAL in part to counter problems of the kind discussed in this dissertation, did not appear to offer the protection sought. It may be that UNCAL was the prime example of a more general truth than ethnographic and 'democratic' evaluations are not possible within bureaucratic structures and in settings where programme evaluation is perceived by the sponsors as a facet of policy related research.

Certainly in practice the UNCAL brief did not work out as 'democratically' as planned. Some operational dilemmas remained. An UNCAL 'Insider's Critique'[124] records that these concerned the projects' desire to muse over reports without the pressure of UNCAL timescales. Other dilemmas concerned problems of "portrayal" and release of data, and were circumstances in which projects might seek to delay, withold consent, or otherwise protect themselves. These problems were considered "straightforward" because they arose directly out of the operating conditions of the model of evaluation being used by UNCAL. The 'Insiders Critique'[125], however, argued that behind them lay a deeper problem involving the relative power positions of the evaluator and the evaluated especially regarding the ethics of release.

It is found[126] that the original procedures laid down for negotiation had been modified in favour of the evaluation. Originally, reports were to have been forwarded by the project to the Director after negotiations with UNCAL, suitably modified in the light of the discus-

sions and agreements of the step-funding meetings. However, in practice, UNCAL sent out the report to the respective project, negotiated it, privately revised it without further consultation, and itself sent the revised report to the Director, Programme Committee and project. This modification, said the 'Critique', had three features.

> "first, time pressures create a need for speedy negotiation and revision, so the process must be managed, not allowed to drag on; Second UNCAL has come under accountability pressure from the Programme Committee and thus had a vested interest in getting reports in on time; and third, control of time scales is tantamount to control of substance - in the light of time and accountability pressures, UNCAL has asserted its power more in the researcher -researched relation."[127]

The 'Critique' argues that the power equation always favoured UNCAL in that it always had the option of reporting on a project against its will.

UNCAL from the outset adopted the moral position that its independence was necessary for "disinterested reporting." Willingness to give power back to the project, by negotiating the content of the reports, was largely over-shadowed by this initial stance. So from adopting an attitude in favour of the distribution of power to the projects, UNCAL found in practice that it itself came under pressure from the Programme Committee which imposed constraints on the evaluation, ("The project may be damned it lets the report through and damned if it doesn't")[128] constraints which counteracted the tendency to democratize contained in the model and which forced the evaluation to thin down its democratising procedures. UNCAL's advocacy of the projects was less effectual than it might have been, for reasons that will become plain later.[129]

3.4.8. The Possibility of Distancing or Rejection: the logic of the problem

It is obvious from the foregoing that attempts to distance or reject an evaluation are adaptive strategies designed to reduce the threat of its presence or of its products. Rejection and distancing require themselves a justificatory rhetoric designed to label the evaluation as deviant. This is most frequently organised around conventional areas of perceived proneness to error (data collection, research methodology, social conduct in the field, etc.)

The 'real' grounds for rejection need have little to do with the adduced ones; they may be based on the threat posed by the evaluation to the structure, public stance, self view of the management, or the type of public impact it might ultimately want the programme to have. It is held by some reputable evaluators[130] that they make two assumptions about themselves which are potentially damaging to the projects or institutions they evaluate. One assumption is that they have the right to tell what they know, even though the revelation may not be altogether acceptable to the project and its people.

The conclusion is that while an evaluation may have aspirations to be democratic, fair, accurate and publicly decent, it may not be able absolutely to deliver on that "ad litteram". The fact of the matter is that evaluations often find themselves in bureaucratic settings whether they like it or not, and are forced to accept bureaucratic constraints, with the option of either negotiating within them or of acting autocratically outside them.

The logic of the problem of rejection, therefore, reduces itself to a question of practical politics. It is acknowledged that an evaluation is in a pretty powerful position vis a vis the project it evaluates. Projects typically have very little power to withold information which

the evaluation wants, or to control the dissemination of information which the evaluation chooses to release. In this inferior situation one of the few political options open to a project is the possibility of 'rejection' either directly, or by stealth.

'Distancing' involves both physical and psychological space, and the presence or absence of it in particular social settings is most readily described in terms of the interactionist perspective that Irving Goffman brought to his analysis of the minutiae of social life.[131] Distancing controls both role and those affective dimensions of human relationships that are candidates for adjudications of appropriateness.

Goffman distinguishes between total 'embracement' of a role, and lack of full emotional involvement or commitment to it. Distancing is understood by him as the actor's partial withdrawal from full embracement of his role.[133]

There is a parallel here for evaluation. Parties to an evaluation may perform appropriate roles without wholeheartedly embracing the evaluation exercise. They may do everything associated with the core task of the activity, but may now show a particular attachment to it. They may recoil against public demonstrations or personal inadequacy which evaluation may imply. They may choose to invest minimal attention and effort into the evaluation "performance", or in some other way demonstrate not their unwillingness to participate, but their disaffection from the close up scrutiny that this might imply.

Distancing may affect either the evaluation or the evaluated. In the case of the evalautor, poking into the seamy side, or in the case of the evaluated having one's seamy side poked, is not an activity of sustainable endurance. Without commitment on either side, it eventually palls. Distancing therefore may be a pose adopted in order to make an

evaluation tolerable. It does have the effect of allowing the continuance of the evaluation despite the difficulties and denials of self that mark its encroachments into 'normal' everyday happenings and events.

3.5.1. Rhetorical acknowledgement divorced from political action

This section concerns evaluative incidents in which the product is apparently accepted but its findings are ignored and disregarded.

3.5.2. The Shannon deterrent: ignoring the critique.

When, in January, 1984, my role as evaluator was restricted to commenting on aspects of programme implementation, I decided, following criticisms of my presentation format in the Second Interim Report,[134] to embody ethnographic evidence in my next account. The Third Interim Report[135] delivered in April 1974, contained thirty four cameos, summaries of qualitative analyses based on my observations of classroom practice in January through March 1974.

These pointed clearly to the same conclusions argued in the two previous Interim Reports[136]; that project design was defective, that it had insufficiently influenced classroom instruction. The innovation had not moved as it should, from stated aims and objectives through materials to operationalisation in teaching activities. The lack of cohesion in design had affected teachers, I argued. By and large they had not been enabled to internalise the objectives of the programme so as to reproduce them in the classroom.

The Director acknowledged the Third Interim Report to be well-founded (O Donnabhain: "the empirical evidence asked for has been produced")[137] But he discounted the implied criticism. "Other projects" he argued "have teething troubles also"[138]

At a teachers' Seminar held in Rathuirc in March 1976[139] the full accumulated evidence of non implementation of project design during the two years of the first phase of the project as contained in Chapter 3 of the Final Report[140] was put before the teachers by the director as a matter for serious consideration. There was no reaction. Some of the teachers said later that they had not wished to hurt the evaluator's feelings. Their silence did less than credit to the honesty by which the Irish are praised for never speaking well of each other.[141]

3.5.3. Picking points of extenuation: SCSP takes the evaluation on board, but prefers the good bits

The SCSP evaluation at NUU received praise for the commitment, learning and hard work it deployed in the four reports it produced at various stages of its activities.[142] At the time of the evaluation[143] a second phase was being negotiated with the sponsors. One had the feeling that many crucial decisions were being pencilled in at meetings not attended by the evaluators, and to which the evaluation was not seen to be relevant. Critical analyses, e.g. that of the absence of structures within the trial schools, did not seem crucial to the decision making process. Attention seemed to be directed rather to short-term hard-edged decisions, and deliberation about them seemed to be manipulative rather than exhaustive. In-depth analysis of project procedures of or project rationale did not seem relevant to project concerns at that point.

There was a mismatch between the day-to-day concerns of the management and the longer term educational issues identified by the evaluation by 'accepting' but not acting upon the critique, the Management Committee took a very pragmatic view of the proffered reports, appearing occasionally to see them as if they were mere string of

discrete sentences any of which could legitimately be borrowed and re-cycled in other contexts.[144] The more favourable the sentence, the greater the likelihood of it becoming a 'quotable quote'.

3.5.4. The Programme Committee's sidetracking of critical issues from the UNCAL reports when such issues were surfaced at meetings.

Jenkins suggests that in Programme Committee's transactions with UNCAL, there was occasional but unmistakable avoidance of particular relevant issues that had been highlighted by the evaluation.

> "The Programme Committee of NDPCAL appeared to UNCAL observers to be chaired by John Hudson in a way that reflected a previous consensus ('one could see good chairmanship moving in against an argument that was developing a negative spiral.') Although UNCAL was non-recommendatory in stance, some of its reports contained issues carrying implications for policy, but once or twice discussion was curtailed at what might have been regarded as a crucial point.
>
> To be fair, Programme Committee were sparse with rhetorical acknowledgement too. If the UNCAL machine were fueled with pure praise, it would not have made its way back to Norwich."[145]

The phenomenon of a chairman steering the conversation and discussion away from sensitive if crucial issues of policy raised by the evaluation could be another manifestation of acknowledgement that in essence is strictly rhetorical, and not related to a thorough deliberation of the issues of policy being raised. In this setting it is the political sensitivity of the issues not their intrinsic worth and their possible relatedness to policy which receive the prior consideration.

3.5.5. Displacement and Reintroduction: Hertfordshire Maths[146]

Although 'rhetorical acknowledgement' refers classically to situations in which the project does nothing of serious import in response to a critique, there is another class of instances in which a

firm decision is seemingly taken. There is a symbolic act, but one followed by rapid erosion; a 'sharper focus' is conceded at the time but wide lenses come out again when everybody has gone home.

An example of this occurred in the UNCAL evaluation of Hertfordshire Maths.[147] This Computer Managed Learning project for mixed ability classes in the first two years of Hertfordshire schools stressed the computer in a managerial role taking most of the marking and scheduling problems away from the teacher.

Alongside this programme was SAM, a 'set and mark' exercise aimed at testing the level of the pupils' computational skills. According to Jenkins who did the evaluation of Hertfordshire Maths for UNCAL, SAM was at root an arithmetical testing package of the "driller killer" variety, and was at best tangential to the project's main thrust, the production of an individualised mathematics course -

Jenkins explains why SAM was so rigorously defended by the project team"

> "it was because it had been developed by Colin Leeson and John Jaworsky in a way that amused them technically, because it allowed them to fiddle around with author languages. It gave them an opportunity of playing games with the computor,escaping from the relative tedium of using basic.

Following the UNCAL evaluation report, which suggested that the project had been dispersing its energies SAM was summarily drummed out of the project. It was accepted by everyone that with the reduced resources of the second funding phase SAM would have to go. Nevertheless it crept back in again, and the reason it made its comeback was not that the individuals concerned wanted to continue the testing programme, but because they were self-confessed computer-buffs, who wanted to play around with author languages on the machine.

3.5.6. The SCSP Primary Trails: moving back to centre stage

Another example of rhetorical acknowledgement emerged during the conduct of the SCSP project in Ulster. Director Alan Robinson had a geographer's view of the way the project should grow holistically, by encouraging growth points wherever they emerged.[149] He was interested in a geographical 'Trails' project which he helped to organize on a non-sectarian basis among primary schools in Derry.[150] He took this on board the SCSP project programme in order to facilitate the provision of teacher training and other supports, assuming management responsibilities as part of his own job.

At the meeting of the Management Committee after the publication of the First Interim Report this concern of Robinson's was questioned by one of the evaluators[151] in part because the activity concerned seemed outside the brief of SCSP, which was ostensibly a second level project. On this issue Management Committee agreed with the evaluation.[152] Under pressure, and accepting the secondary focus of SCSP, Robinson had a teacher seconded to take over his managerial role on the Trails Project.[153]

On publication of the Final Report, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers,[154] which paid rather little attention to Trails, Robinson wanted to know why this aspect had been so little considered by the evaluation. His annotated copy of the Report a propos of the 'Trails', queries "Where is the first generation Schools Council project that is like SCSP"[155]

Underlying this query was a contention of the evaluation, which in its reports[156] had criticised SCSP's concentration on materials production as not being intended in the original proposal. Characterising such preoccupation with print as characteristic of first general Schools Council projects,[157] the evaluation held that SCSP was intended

by those who wrote the Funding proposal as a second generation curriculum development project, with emphasis on dialogue and situational adaptivity.

Robinson claimed he had reverted to the original design in taking a more community-wide view of the innovation process. "Encouraging all the flowers to grow", meant for him not being confined within second level education, but sowing seedlings at primary level as well. The evaluation had questioned whether this was an over-diffuse approach.

Yet the Second Phase of the project saw 'Trails' back in mainstream SCSP development once more. Robinson was determined to retain it centre stage in the SCSP operation and had brought the Management Committee round to his way of thinking.

The director's appeal to the originating documents offered partial support. SCSP was not a 'first generation Schools Council' The reinstatement of Primary Trails probably resulted the director's geographical specialism and interest. The project's original remit, however, clearly centred its activities in the 'middle years of schooling.' The intended "community" aspect was to have been localised around the post primary school, with its teachers as focal 'change agents'.[158]

3.5.7. Rhetorical acknowledgement: The Logic of the Problem

The logic of the problem here would seem to be a function of perceived accountability. Management may feel it can accept an evaluation while ignoring its findings because criticism may not have impaired its relation with its sponsors, the power base which supports it and to which it feels primarily accountable. As long as this support remains untouched by evaluative criticism, the evaluation may be faintly praised but discounted.

There is a parallel to be invoked here between levels of rhetorical acceptance and commitment to the evaluation on the one hand, and perceptions of the real focus of accountability on the other. If the management perceives its accountability as directly related to evaluation-impervious forces, then it may feel disinclined to support actively an uncomfortable evaluation finding. It may see itself formally linked to an evaluation but in real terms it may rather feel responsible to, and act responsively towards, its perceived constituency of power.

In a different situation altogether, John Elliott, conducting an in-school evaluation in an ILEA comprehensive school,[159] found a discrepancy in the flow of information to different school associated bodies. The quality of communication with parents Elliott classified as 'superb'; the information being given to the Board of Governers he regarded as meagre by comparison. In further examining this discrepancy, he found that teachers, while admitting they were formally responsible to the Board and Local Authority, nevertheless among a range of possible alternative groups considered themselves least accountable to these authoritatively constituted bodies and most responsible to parents and other staff. Concerning the Board "we don't know them" was their alleged reason for lack of responsiveness.[160]

Elliott found that the governing Body had become overtly politicised. Conservative Party members in influential positions on the Board were unabashedly endeavouring to undermine the very basis of the 'all ability' (Comprehensive) nature of the school by inducing competitiveness between schools.[161]

He regarded the heightened level of communication with parents partly as a direct response of the headmaster and Senior staff to a, (to them) unacceptable situation. The constituency grassroots cultivation of

support was paralleled by a more rhetorical arms-length and formal mode of communication with the Board. Appealing to and getting parental support involved a switch to a less formal base for power and support.[162]

Although rhetorical responses to evaluations often infer an inverse recourse to more formal levels, the support of funding agencies, effectively there is a parallel. The more threatening 'evaluation' influence is disregarded, held at arms-length, while support is more decisively sought from the base of power with which the management feels congenial and with whom it more naturally communicates. Not so much a deliberate cultivation is involved as the use of a primary resource, in this case project sponsors, as a halt-stop refreshment to convince and restore necessary confidence while continuing as before.

3.6.1. Counter denunciation and the building up of dossiers of adverse evidence against the evaluation

Sometimes, it would appear, those subjected to an evaluation who disagree with an unfavourable evaluation account turn on the evaluation and attack it as a best method of defence against it. This sometimes might involve rituals of excoriation, authoritative statements or the collection of adverse evidence, a dossier to use against the evaluation.

3.6.2. The Shannon counter denunciation

This has been detailed before above in connection with The Second Interim Report[163] The denunciation took a ritual and authoritative form. Detailed evidence was confined to omissions in the evaluation's agreed schedule of work. Characteristically, the unscheduled nature of the evaluation intervention was implicit evidence of unworthiness, a procedural departure that could be treated as suspect from the outset.

The director's rejection of the Report as formative evaluation[164] took the form of an arraignment at Department Headquarters before the Steering Committee as tribunal, at which the main accusation was that no evidence had been produced to substantiate the "subjective observations" of the evaluator.[165] While the evaluator was given the chance to reply, the subject of contention was his right to make statements of a certain kind. He was not asked to produce the missing evidence, rather to show reasons why his report should not be considered a subjective account unworthy of consideration, the clear implication being that it was.[166]

The authoritative use of ritual had a threefold dimension, the venue, the denunciation and the implied misuse of independence on the part of the evaluation.

The venue chosen for the denunciation, Department of Education Headquarters, Malborough St., Dublin, symbolically put the director on the side of the establishment, as though not just he himself but the Department were under attack, as though not only he, but the agency funding the project were in need of vindication. This recourse to group protectiveness heightened the strength his own self endorsement, lessened the force of the evaluation's reply.

The denunciation took the form of an accusation in writing which the evaluation would find difficult to disprove, since it was by-and-large true. The fact that the argument being made by the evaluation was equally true became irrelevant since the ground for debate had been altered to suit the director's stance, not the questions raised. Neither the substance of the evaluator's analysis nor the evidence which he had in fact adduced were given any consideration in the debate.

The implied misuse of independence came trenchently to the fore when the Director inferred that the evaluation had violated due procedures and schedules. This aspersion subsequently justified the

management's subsequent "appropriation" of the evaluation, telling it what aspects to evaluate, and when and how to deliver its products. There were to be no more unsolicited assessments.

3.6.3. Robinson's response to the SCSP evaluation; and the Management Committee's cause of contention

Alan Robinson, Director of SCSP, went through the evaluation Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers with a fine comb, annotating alleged errors in the text with grim thoroughness.[167] His contention was that inattention to detail and some inconsistencies in the presentation argued an overall lack of credibility.

Remarking on this reaction as an instance of procuring evidence with which to attack the credibility of the evaluation Jenkins says:

> "for someone challenging the authenticity and reliability of a report, it is hard to challenge judgements, because judgements contain a certain bounded response to defined criteria, which have to be weighed with the facts in each case. It is much more preferable to be able to point to tiny errors."[168]

By 'criteria' Jenkins here means the means by which the relative weighting of facts are adjudicated. Jenkins holds that there is a tradition of facile but successful counter-criticism that ignores the overall thrust of an argument, seeking instead to pick up small errors of fact. These are then projected on a larger screen as indicative of basic procedural and methodological flaws which undermine the general credibility of the evaluator, in the same kind it was as random indiscretions and inadvertencies are sometimes thought to impunge a person's general moral probity.

The crucial confrontational meeting between the SCSP Management Committee and evaluation co-directors Jenkins and O Connor, took place at Stranmillis College, Belfast, in June 1979.[169] At issue were the

evaluation's 'portrayals' of three individuals Cathal Dallat, Russell McKay, and Gail Morrow in the SCSP Final Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers[170] These portrayals were the evidence in contention, the admissibility of which was being challenged by the Management Committee. The case for the prosecution was a dossier of evidence culled from the evaluation report itself. The examples of personal portrayal were put forward as self-evidently unacceptable, being perceived by the Management Committee as "inappropriate", "in bad taste" and "indiscreet".[171]

A more general focus of concern however, was the possible effect the publication of such portrayals might have on teaching bodies, and on their future relationship with the Department of Education in Northern Ireland (DENI), on further curriculum development and its evaluation in the Province. It was felt that published "in the raw" the offending portrayals could have a damaging effect on such relationships as now existed.[172] The Committee urged their omission. While the contractual arrangements clearly afforded the evaluation the right to publish, members of the Department contended that DENI also had the right to protect what it regarded as an area of vital interest. Appealing to very senior authority, no change or compromise was brooked by the Committee on the issue. As a result Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers was not published.[173] Professor Hugh Sockett, a former Management Committee member who was not present at the Stramillis meeting, expressed a similar concern. In a letter to Jenkins[174] he said that in the three cases cited it would have been possible to avoid dissent. Sockett continued:

> "I assumed that this was implicit in the principle of anonymity i.e. that anonymity is available to those who do not wish to be identified, which itself presupposes that the text will be shown them."[175]

Sockett felt that McKay would object strongly, "not about the comments so much as on the principle of publication." Dallat he felt was "very sensitive about his public persona" and about his career prospects. Morrow he thought might have difficulties with her colleagues on the staff.[176]

The tone of Sockett's response, and its concentration on methodological issues rather than matters of social grace, contrasted sharply with the denunciators style adopted by DENI's attack, which sought to put the evaluation ethically in the wrong. Sockett was not against portrayals per se, but held that they should be negotiated with the individuals concerned. Sympathetic observers, seeing this decision of the evaluation as autocratic, criticised it practically for doing mischief to its own purposes. But Jenkins held that most of the individuals concerned were well able to look after themselves and that the pretence by DENI that it was protecting the poor was shabby and weak.[177] By the time Sockett's point came to be made there was probably already too much sensitivity around for the conduct of a fruitful negotiating exercise such as he had sought.[178]

The response to Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers would thus seem to indicate instances of both kinds of denunciation, "authoritative" in an appeal to DENI's rectitude on the one hand and "dossiers of evidence", Robinson's collection of minor errors and inconsistencies, on the other. Both of these reactions shifted the concern with the evaluation away from the points the evaluation was making in the corpus of its argument towards questions concerning the propriety and legitimacy of the evaluation itself.

3.6.4. The South Glamorgan Consultants denunciation of Jenkins' UNCAL report, and the compilation of a dossier of evidence against the evaluation

The story of consultant Peter Young's rejection of Jenkins UNCAL report on the South Glamorgan Remedial Reading (CAT) Project has already been told.[179] What interests us here is the denunciatory style of the formal rejection (its ritualised excoriation), the recourse to authority and to an authoritative verdict on the rejection, and finally, the collection of a dossier of evidence to support the denunciation.

The denunciatory style of Young's formal rejection is evident. After striking at alleged rhetorical abuses in Jenkins' report[180] he contends

> "I would have thought that any analysis of the relationship between the design and performance would have been careful to be exact, precise, explicit in its treatment of facts and to have provided a conceptual framework in which an evaluation of the relationships could be analysed in a coherent and sequential manner."[181]

He then takes seven points arising out of the context of the report which he considers wrongly focussed, and seven issues which he contends were wrongly dealt with, finally rejecting the portrayals and condemning the whole report as being wrongly directed, mischievous and inadequate.

The denunciation, intended totally to discredit the evaluator as an authentic, or accurate investigator, was successful in doing so. Richard Hooper, director of NDPCAL, pronounced that Jenkins' report was 'offensive'.[182] It was never published, and did not even achieve the usual level of internal circulation enjoyed by most UNCAL reports. In going over the heads of the UNCAL team and appealing to the director of NDPCAL, Young was appealing to the Directorates' authority. This violation of the agreed procedures often accompanies denunciation as a reaction. In

appealing to the audience to which the evaluation itself is responsible, the project lodges a counter claim for credibility with the evaluations own constituency. This ritualised appeal to the "higher court" not only puts the evaluation "in the dock" as it were, but once again shifts the emphasis of discourse away from the points the evaluation has made and from the general thrust and scope of its argument.

In the debacle that ensued, Jenkins shouldered most of the blame for the alleged failure of the evaluation of the Glamorgan project. The task of accounting for the failure of the project, which Jenkins considered eligible evaluation data, fell by default, although the UNCAL team returned to the issue indirectly in its final report. The dossier of evidence which Peter Young used to reject the evaluators report was commentary on inadequacies of the report itself, a critique of which formed the basis for the condemnation of the entire contents. But other methods were also used to collect evidence for a counter-attack against the evaluation. Jenkins:

> "At the point that they perceived the evaluation to be a potential problem, right through to the final meetings, there was an attempt to collect evidence, some of it retrospective, concerning the actual amount of time the evaluator spent in the setting, how many schools he had visited, who he had talked to, so as to be in a position to challenge the evidential base on which a subsequent report might be based."[183]

South Glamorgan, then began a reverse-monitoring of Jenkins, roughly from the point where all parties defined the situation as pathological.[184]

3.6.5. Jill Frewin and the technical evaluation of Leeds Statistics. NDPCAL

Jill Frewin was one of two technical evaluators of NDPCAL. Her function as evaluator involved understanding and critically reviewing the technical aspects of the computer programmes in NDPCAL. Towards the end of the first year of NDP 1st August 1974, Barry MacDonald tape recorded and subsequently documented an interview with Frewin and John Bevin, the other technical advisor to the programme, to review what Frewin herself engagingly called the "disastrous situation in the National programme caused by the fact that key projects see John and myself as dictatorial and inflexible." (Frewin)[185] A principal protagonist in the difficulty was Ken Knight of the Leeds Statistical Project.[186]

Frewin was of the opinion that many things in education are matters of personal choice but that this flexibility of judgement either works as they should or doesn't.

> "Ours is more on the level of 'If you do that you will end up with a long, slow programme that nobody else will understand. You will have something that will not work on another machine', and it is provable."[187]

The evidence being compiled in this disagreement with Frewin would seem to have been anecdotal and personal, dependant upon an interpretation of her working style, but also implying on professional matters, rooted in a technical assessment of the merits of different computer systems.

The dossier of evidence can therefore be seen as slippage towards relatively peripheral matters, and in the context of the argument of this thesis, is a typical diversionary tactic focussing on the style and function of the evaluator, and away from the evaluative issues being raised.

3.6.6. Counter denunciations and dossiers of evidence used against the evaluation: The Logic of the Problem

Harold Garfinkel's Conditions for Successful Degradation Ceremonies[188] offers a general mapping of the mechanics of the put-down or denunciation, and its insights seem helpful in analysing the kinds of social process we have been examining in this (3.6) section. The degradation ceremony he describes, seem very like what we have called "rituals of excoriation" against the evaluation, although where his ceremonies are by definition more proactive our rituals seem more reactive.

Reactions to evaluation products such as we have been describing seem to be signalling in effect "if you take my good name away from me I can neutralise your action by destroying your own integrity and credibility as an evaluator." The reaction can be interpreted as a counter attack to a perceived ritual assault on the individual actor who, on receipt of unfavourable comment conducts a Garfinkle counter denunciation or initiates moves towards the possibility of conducting one by compiling a dossier of adverse evidence.

We are talking therefore about the way certain individuals react in expectation of or on receipt of negative comment in evaluative situations. We are not talking in a proactive sense about the evaluative act, context, origin and nature, which produces that reactive activity in the first place.

The individual reacting could be seen as responding defensively to feeling himself reduced or degraded by an evaluation. He aims to defend his position by restoring the image of himself that he sees violated. He is thus motivated, not by the need for a truthful appraisal of the assessment made against him, but by a fear of losing the emotional weighting and security that his image in the situation affords him. Thus

his response is not to face the issues being raised by the evaluation, but rather to counter the perceived attack by competing for the audience to his own degradation. The state of affairs he attempts to bring about is one where he could effectively state: "my counter denunciation against you is more credible to those who matter than is your denunciation against me."

The evaluation's credibility hinges on persuading its audience of the authenticity of its judgement. The public nature of a perceived degradation, its acceptance by a wider audience, is what goads the evaluated to impeach his alleged accuser in front of the same audience as jury; to litigate the case against him which he perceives the evaluation to have made, rather than confront the real problem which the evaluation has had to face, and was professionally obliged to expose. The defensive response of the individual being considered, therefore, is to deal with the evaluation in the way the evaluation is perceived to have dealt with him.

The question of perception is of obvious if not ominous import. Not all evaluations are equally objective. Some are more equitable, others more provocative, some have a stare difficult to downface, others seem to cut into the soft underbelly touching more than swathes of blubber. Yet 'quidquid recipitur" whatever is received, according to the scholastic nostrum is received "according to the mode of the receiver."

If an evaluator wishes to stay in business he develops objectivity as stock in trade and may not overtly or covertly humiliate or degrade by intention whatever he may do by inadvertence. Inevitably perhaps he is cast in an adversary role by his critical stance. His quizzical candour or the relentless cut of his jib may be more indicative of infringement

or violation than what he actually says by way of comment. And so he may be perceived by those who receive his judgement as inimicably type-casting them in roles they would not have chosen for public countenance.

Garfinkle says:

> "The public denunciation effects... a transformation of essence by substituting another socially validated motivational scheme for that previously used to name and order the performance to be denounced."[189]

By stating or implying that an individual has a different motivational scheme from that which hitherto has publicly appeared and gained acceptance and purvue, an evaluation may devalue the reference group status[190] with which the actor engages in his role. The evaluation may imply incompetence in one up to now considered competent, lack of judgement or foresight in one previously thought to be wise and provident, deficient responsibility in one who until this point was judged to be honourable. A norm of behaviour previously thought to be unimpeachable, may now be considered to have been unmasked, revealing to public view an image which is the dialectical counterpart, the opposite of what had previously been affirmed.

An evaluator's judgement thus is seen to divest an actor of the self-bracing appurtenances necessary to maintain his role. His scientific orthodoxy and the objectivity of his judgement grace his credibility. In a sense he himself achieves acceptance and reference group status by being authentic in his methods and genuine in his critical stance. But this position is not unassailable. Authenticity and genuineness are established in the methods and critical apparatus which an evaluator brings to his work. If these are questioned and the evaluator is argued to be lacking in competence, judgement or responsibility and if this accusation can be sustained then the validity of unacceptable evaluative conclusions may be successfully impunged, and the

self image previously enjoyed by the accused equally successfully restored in a show of wrongfully impeached innocence. In this turnabout the disingenuousness of the evaluated, may by times reveal him either as an innocent unfairly accused or as a creep falsely turned accuser.

Alternatively, a compromise may be achieved as a result of the counter denunciation. The evaluator may be partially devalued and allowed to continue in diminished scope and with more limited authority; contrarywise the evaluated will not consider himself totally underrated yet his actions may no longer be considered by him beyond question or accountability.

3.7.1. Manipulating human sensitivities as instruments of Social Control over the evaluator

Incidents in this section are concerned with the uses made of sensitive human responses to evaluation conditions, as pressure to get the evaluator to change the evaluation product to a publicly less damaging form.

3.7.2. The Shannon use of teacher sensitivity

The incident in which Steering Committee members seemed to use the sensitivities of teachers as reflections on the SESP evaluator's stance and reporting style has already been described.[191] Committee members did not like how the evaluator had openly discussed perceived flaws in the project teams' relationship with the teachers or his alleged misuse of market metaphors to illustrate his points.[192]

What was at issue was not the difficulty generated by the evaluator's remarks, but the coherence of curriculum design from statement of aims and objectives to the realities of classroom practice. The crucial issue being laboured by the evaluation was how the stated aims influenced the way they as teachers behaved in the classroom.

Committee would not allow the evaluation pursue teachers past the point of conflict, but would force the evaluation to yield ground on important issues of principle because these had generated conflict. On the grounds that conflict is per se negative in its result, the committee members felt the evaluator was damaging the project, its director and team, and also being hurtful to teachers. The evaluator saw no harm at this juncture in giving the matters that mostly concerned him a thorough airing with teachers and team. But neither the illustrations he used, nor the stance he took in his report and the discussion which it provoked, were acceptable to committee members, on the implicit grounds that teachers were incapable of accepting or of dealing with negative criticism. This tender minded stance over-protected the teachers. Far from "lowering the boom" on the evaluator, his action was defended to the committee, though the incident did continue to rankle with members. There was a consequent loss of confidence in the evaluator.

3.7.3. Alan Robinson of SCSP and its "high risk" evaluation

Alan Robinson showed himself to be a sensitive and cautious director qualities of proven usefulness to the prudent, in the fraught and anxious Northern Ireland Situation. But when it came to the question of whether or not to publish personal portrayals of some of the teachers on the project, Robinson's caution and protectiveness seemed to the SCSP

evaluators a little over-drawn. According to Jenkins[193] he attributed sensitivities as keenly frail as his own, to unlikely individuals of manifestly more robust temperament.

The evaluation took matters of teacher sensitivity less cautiously. A body committed to promoting painful self-confrontation as a way of tackling sectarianism in the culture, could not, it assumed, individually or collectively escape the impact of its own message. The physician needed to heal himself. This openness to criticism had been the basis on which the evaluation had been negotiated with the teachers. They were in the business of scrutinizing their own assumptions, and there seemed little cause for outcry if the label "I am a values clarifier" could be made to stick. Nevertheless Robinson and his Committee remained convinced of caution and publicity shy.

We saw this wariness and over-sensitivity as a possible mis-apprehension visited on the project by Robinson and his committee. The 'feel' of the situation in the field suggested that teachers were not as fragile about themselves as project administrators seemed convinced. Indeed the teachers' openness and frankness appeared one of the salient strengths of the project. The test of the portrayals therefore was one for the project as a whole, it seemed, and not entirely for committee.

What we took to be the inherent good sense in the project body at large, its receptivity to "fair comment", regardless, convinced us that we should publish the portrayals despite the opposition of sponsors. But even at a distance Robinson and Committee still shaped the sensitivities of the situation to accord with hesitations and misgivings of their own.

His comments, in the Director's Report, 1981,[194] indicate that it was the project Management Committee, not the teachers, who "regretted... the political asides and references to named individuals." It found such references "unfair and hurtful to individuals". Robinson says further

that because the sponsoring bodies were not prepared to associate themselves with the report some principals and teachers from participating schools became "curious" and even "suspicious" about the project. Perhaps sponsors had not fully accepted the original brief[195] which had attempted to preempt suspicions by a "cards on the table" gesture of frankness.

3.7.4. Manipulation of sensitivity in an evaluation at the Derry Youth and Community Workshop

A notable example of less subtle control of an evaluation by an appeal to audience sensitivity occurred in the course of the evaluation of the Derry Youth and Community Workshop[196] a youth employment scheme largely financed by the DMS in Northern Ireland. The evaluators did not have an easy time with the tradesmen turned instructors, who found the language of the report too "difficult" to understand. However, by taking it quietly the team were beginning to make themselves understood.

It was precisely at this point that the director of the project Paddy Doherty called off the evaluation, and refused permission for any further sessions, on grounds that appeared to suggest that once the evaluators and the project began to understand each other, then the evaluation would tell the project what to do. The assistant director of the project remarked to a group of combined evaluators and tutors, "if you go on like this you will fall into each others' arms."

The so-called Tavistock dynamic,[197] according to which Doherty said he ran his workshop, consists in allowing aggressive forces free play without allowing pre-structured understandings of emotional response to intervene. The evaluation was interpreted as off-limits to the basic philosophy, and was perceived as itself an illegitimate attempt to structure. What the director wished for discussion to remain open to the

play of unpatterned forces. His interest lay in keeping the sensitivities of the situation the way they were, at critical cross-purposes. It is not too far-fetched to suggest the negotiation of the evaluation product had been abruptly terminated in order to curtial the possibility that common agreement on overall purposes might be reached.

3.7.5. Manipulating human sensitivities as instruments of human control over the evaluator: The Logic of the problem

The logic of the problem has to do with the fact that evaluative judgements are not made in an effective vacuum and cannot be de-contextualised.

Despite the fact that many evaluators attempt objective detatchment and a non-judgemental presentation of evidence, evaluative judgements may be present either explicitly in the alignment of evidence or implicitly in the concurrence of evidence with circumstance. Thus willy nilly there is a judgemental interposition into the evaluative context.

This context is often fraught with emotional sensitivity where judgements, real or implicit, may be seen as threats to the security, satisfaction or further participation of personnel in the scheme or project being evaluated.

This sensitivity can give the moral entrepreneur[198] wishing to curl the evaluation a powerful ploy. The sensitivities, feelings, senses of betrayal which individuals voice can be used as "indications" that the evaluation has overstepped the mark or irresponsibly used its brief, making the work of project continuance impossible, or immeasurably difficult.

An assumed sense of moral indignation at this may enable the entrepreneur to put pressure on the evaluation to tone down some of its more damaging statements if not to remove them altogether.

This clash sets the continuation of the project as a prior moral value over against the adduced right to criticise of the evaluation and denies that right if sensitivities are ruffled to the point where continuation is under threat.

3.8.1. The "rival" Product

Another, sometimes internal, evaluation is developed as a counter thrust to the independent one. Incidents in connection with 'rival' products concern reports in which a different perspective to that of the independent evaluation seeks to define the project being evaluated in terms different to those of the designated or legitimate evaluation, thus establishing a different authoritative base on which the worth of the project can be based.

3.8.2. Rival bids for the Shannon evaluation

During the course of the Shannon SESP evaluation an objective examination consisting of two hundred items was put together by the project team under my supervision. I wrote most of the items myself, and was responsible for the administration of the exam[199] which sought to test across a range of five intellectual abilities from recall of information contained in the materials to the skills of interpretation and analysis.

Professor John Heywood of the Public Examinations Evaluation Project, PEEP[200] took a great interest in this operation and was particularly intrigued by my devising instruments to test across the ability range, which procedure he considered to be novel on this side of the Atlantic as it was new to his experience with the British Examination Boards.

He enthused Henry McIntosh from the Southern Region Examination Board SREB[201] to come and do a validating exercise on our items at Killaloe in April 1974. Afterwards in conjunction with Geoff Smith of the Joint Matriculation Board[202] and Professor Ben Wright[203] from whom I had learned of the Danish technique at Chicago, the items were processed according to the Rasch method and by this means we were able to pick out statistically relevant differences in ability performance, differences crucial to our analysis.

Despite its designation as an "evaluation" PEEP was not really an evaluation Project. Heywood was training teachers in devising test items for History and Maths objective examinations as a pilot scheme for an alternative Intermediate Certificate Examination.[204] And part of his disposition for this was to involve the SESP evaluation in the trial scheme. PEEP in return was to service the processing of SESP's tests.

A distinct "swing" to the "rival" paradigm was halted in Winter 1974. In the more instant need to produce a Final Report for further SESP funding in the following June, the evaluation reverted back to the ethnographic data it had gathered as a primary "source" for its Final Evaluation Report[205]

3.8.3. Alan Robinson and the SLSP "Director's Report"[206]

Alan Robinson Director of SCSP was never happy with the negative aspects of the independent evaluation report, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers. He clearly felt that the criticism reflected badly on the project and on himself as director. In his Director's Report he comments

> "The consequences of the external evaluation research process and the final report which ensued from it, were for the most part unexpected by a project membership which little understood the evaluation stage of curriculum development in 1977 or realised that evaluation was itself the subject of on-going study and debate."207

He then goes on to detail some of the negative results that arose, not from the report itself, but from its suppression, faulting the evaluation for non-publication and for thereby embarassing SCSP and causing some of the projects' plans to be aborted during the period 1979-1980 - the developmental phase of the project.

At pains to emphasise that the Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers was neither summative nor terminal, he says that the report of the independent evaluation and the Director's Report should be read in conjunction by those wishing to understand the project, the Director's report giving the more complete and up-to-date picture. Also that Chocolate Cream Soldiers was a transitional snap-shot, and that there was no summative or concluding independent account for the project as a whole. The argument converged on the view that the Director's report was the one authoritative and final statement about the project. Jenkins comments:

> "He (Robinson) was extremely keen on the idea that he was 'required' to give the report to the funding agency as part of the contract, and saw the 'Final Report' as he called it, as the authorised version. The contract, and even the title were mere devices to authenticate his as the true report."[209]

In his true account Robinson sets out to justify the conduct of the project to its sponsors. The message, on its bottom line, was a simple one: the Schools Cultural Studies Project had delivered in full.

Robinson quotes from Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers material favourable to the project. However, only one of the many points to detailed criticisms levelled at the project by the evaluation is mentioned, and then only in extenuation. Robinson acknowledges in a kind of post-script[210] that the Project to some extent benefitted from the appraisal offered. Certainly his own definitive interpretation leaves the project canonically clean.

In this case the "rival" evaluation product was not really meant to be read 'alongside' the independent evaluation report, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers as Robinson pretends. Rather the Director's Report was meant to correct any "misapprehensions" that the evaluationmay have created and to vindicate the Projects' achievements as proper to itself in measured congratulation.[211] Robinson's smooth summarising acount went beyond ordinary notions of damage limitation into an aloof official trumping-in-spades of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers. It was impression-management on the grand scale, and all more-or-less favourable.[212]

3.8.4. Russell McKay's rewrite of Reggie North's evaluation of a Northern Ireland Comprehensive

A similar incident occurred to Reginald North who was working at the New University of Ulster, doing a fieldwork-based analysis, in a series of case studies, of British Comprehensive Schools undergoing change.[213] Russell McKay was one of a number of 'practising teachers' on the Advisory Committee of North's project. McKay was headmaster of Faughan Valley Comprehensive School and took the view that his role on the committee was to curb some of the journalistic excesses of North's work. in particular he had taken a dislike to North's writing, and had offered to rewrite it in a crisp summarising version. Jenkins was a little dismissive of this intervention

> "To be fair, he saw himself as trying to trim the sails of Reggie North's speculative ethnography by blue-pencilling some of Reggie's more extravagant asides. He rewrote one entire case study by North to about one half its original length. The message was that this is the kind of stuff a local head teacher would really like to see. Representing the potential audience of the report, McKay sought to demonstrate what he felt it should look like."[214]

Any rival product is premissed on some alternative version, or different notion, concerning what evaluation should be about. Moreoever it tackles its rival account in a way that recognises its own participation in a battle for credibility. The rival product is established, ultimately, at the cost of the one it is trying to usurp.

3.8.5. The Rival Product: Logic of the Problem

'Rival products' reflect and endorse a conflict view of problematical social life. Each product champions a rival interpretation, each rooted in a rival 'interest'.

John Rex in his book Social Conflict[215] diverges from Parson's[216] normative view of conflict as being essentially deviant behaviour - a departure from societal norms. Such behaviour in Parson's view requires a reintegration back to the norm in order to resolve the conflict. Such a view, Rex holds, is not premissed on real conflict which he believes is based rather on a fundamental disagreement as to ends, means and motivation and on a basic rejection of mutual expectations. He distinguishes in this conflict situation an ideological argument which is concerned with the moral and cognitive aspects of the conflict. With regard to the moral side of the argument Rex says

> "If ... there is a real conflict of ends, the purpose of the argument on the part of the parties to it will not be simply to arrive at the moral truth, but rather at that interpretation of the relevant morality which allows for the attainment of each parties goals. It will consist in special pleading and rationalisation by each party on his own behalf coupled with an attempt to expose the dishonest or ideological nature of the other's position.[217]

While his arguments could equally well be brought against each protagonist's position, nevertheless commonly in conflict situations one tends to advocate one's own position and to treat the other's as adversary counter point.

On the cognitive side, Rex considers that conflicts are frequently resolved by the simple communication of mutual expectations. Where this is not achieved, parties may strive to conclude the issue "by representing their positions falsely." - as when one party claims against all the evidence that there is no misunderstanding.

In evaluations the moral side of conflict will hinge on what constitutes the correctness or truth of evaluation accounts. Thus a strictly bureaucratic viewpoint will require a rhetoric of justification, in which the merits of a programme will be promoted with the sponsors so as to justify their investment to them. This differs radically from an investigative orientation: one that proposes to delve behind the public persona of the project for mistakes of management and other indiscretions, inadmissable but crucial, such as the sequestration of funds for purposes other than those originally intended. Proponents of either of these opposing viewpoints will look on the other as an adversary account and tend to a "rival" position, or a "rival product", which will plead its own view and expose the other as dishonest or ideologically wrong.

On the cognitive side conflicts may be concerned with simple methodology as when, for instance, the merits of objectives/results testing may persuade an "illuminative" evaluator to adopt an experimental stand. Thus the rival view may be about how best to represent the achievements of the programme.

It may also concern how best to communicate the evaluation data to various audiences, as when an ethnographic account is trimmed to suit an administrative audience, or when a detailed statistical analysis is summarised for the "man in the street".

In this context the rival viewpoints while not necessarily representing each other as false or wrong may give emphasis to different aspects either of representation or communication in accounts of the same programme.

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5. above 2.6.1. ff.

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40. Mac, Donald, B. Ed. 1977. p.192.

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44. Jenkins, D.R. 1980a. Hertfordshire Mathematics Project UNCAL, Parlett, M. 1972 Massachusetts Institute of Technology Evaluation Study, cf. Hamilton, D. et.al. 1977 p.335.

45. MacDonald, B. Ed. 1977b. p.217.

46. Jenkins, D.R. 18/1/1985 tr.scr. p.5.

47. ibid p.4,5.

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CHAPTER FOUR COMMENTARY ON THE APM FROM WITHIN THE EVALUATION COMMUNITY

4.1. Introduction

Again, following the natural history of the research, this chapter shows how the APM was shown to practical evaluators. This visitation with the so called 'alternative' evaluation community took place largely in two settings and produced varieties of recordings, written reaction and other documentation. The data collected is reviewed in the course of the chapter under the various APM headings, in an attempt to study peer group validation for the schema, and with a view to analysing the underlying issues in the context of what experienced evaluators had to say by way of reflection and comment.

4.1.1. Overview

Having put together the APM schema and considered its possibilities, it was thought that other evaluators, who might have shared the experiences it epitomised, would perhaps like to comment on the model and add some experiences and reflections of their own which, if not exactly validating it in all points, would at least confirm that line of enquiry as a useful one, in which to explore some of the issues raised.

The schema was then circulated to Schools Council and other evaluators whose known interest, it was thought, might elicit a response. Since the invitation was open, attracting divergent comment rather than yes-no responses, it left much to the time and to the discretion of individual evaluators. While the comment received therefore in response to the presented schema was extensive and useful, the number of busy evaluators who had time to take up the challenge of penning a response was not as great as might have been originally expected. Some comment

from those who did, is included in the data of this chapter.[1] Encouraged nevertheless by the positive nature of the response and by the kind of reminiscent sounds the APM was making in evaluator's heads, it was decided to take the schema as an inconspicuous part of luggage impedimenta to the Third Cambridge Conference (CC3) on Naturalistic Inquiry and Educational Evaluation held at Girton College Cambridge 17th - 20th December 1979.[2]

The Conference dealt with the processes and procedures of naturalistic inquiry as policy-related educational research and touched on many of the areas being explored in the context of APM. Some of the sessions, as will appear later, dealt very closely with topics being pursued in the model. Recordings of some of these were subsequently transcribed and form data for this chapter.

The conference was attended by so called 'alternative' evaluation practitioners from both sides of the Atlantic some of whom kindly agreed to have their impressions of the APM schema, a copy of which was circulated, recorded. Transcriptions of these recordings, also form part of the data of this chapter. Other taped reactions are also used as appropriate. Documents of the conference and other pertinent materials are also incorporated into the data.[3]

The chapter groups the collected data and related comment around the general headings of the APM. The material is used digressively. The argument is allowed to follow its nose, so to speak, as it visits each topic, with illustrations from the documentation where and as necessary to illuminate the underlying arguments.

4.1.2. A note on the Cambridge Conferences

The Cambridge Conferences of evaluators, sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation are invited "get togethers" of evaluators, most of whom were working within non-traditional paradigms from Europe and America.[4] In all, three such gatherings have been held, two of them at Churchill College and the third at Girton College Cambridge. The first marked the professional 'coming of age' of the so called 'new wave' of evaluators.[5] It drew up the Cambridge Manifesto a bench-marking document asserting, polestar like, the scientific and other guiding principles of the new "illuminative" departure in evaluation methodology.[6]

The second Cambridge Conference December 1975[7] explored methodologi cal and other problems in the conduct of evaluation as case study research. The Third Cambridge Conference CC3[8] dealt, as has been mentioned, with the problems and issues associated with naturalistic inquiry as educational evaluation and research. It is important to note that as far as Cambridge is concerned any attempt at 'peer group validation' of the APM will reflect the predominace at that Conference of evaluators working within non-traditional methods. Although I shall later argue that the most stringent necessary conditions for the emergence of APM-type reactions do not limit these to evaluations using ethnographic date. This assertion cannot itself be argued on the basis of discussions at Griton, as the traditional methodologies were underrepresented.

4.1.3. Contents

This chapter follows in its headings each of the APM's categories. Under each title, directly culled from the model, the opinions of the evaluators, and other related data materials are discussed. Thus the layout is straightforward and the disposition enables the discourse to follow its head around each of the topics as headlined.

4.2. The possibility of Cooption or Collusion

Reactions to this category of possibility ran into 'soft' and 'hard' interpretations of the evaluator's role depending on whether the evaluator preferred a "participant" or "formal" stance to the gathering of data.

4.2.1. The Ethnographic dilemma: "soft" and "hard" information gathering

Walker,[9] citing the education anthropologist George Spindler's Being an Anthropologist,[10] a collection of off-the-cuff reports from eleven different ethnographers about the ways they went about their fieldwork, noted that all eleven approaches differed from each other. In one of these accounts the ethnographer described how he was examining an Indian village. He sought objectivity in his approach to gathering information and did not get anywhere in his investigation. Walker:

> "He tried to be objective and neutral but could not get any real information as he was not coming across as a real person. No-one would talk to him. It was only when he became alive in the situation, made friends and enemies like everyone else, that he could become a part of what was going on and conduct his observations and analysis. In this kind of investigation it is only when you write the report that you work back to objectivity."[11]

This statement highlights a basic dilemma underlying ethnographic research. Some scientists, in order to obtain access to true information, cannot function in certain situations as detached observers. They must become a part of the scene which they describe.

On the other hand, a more rigorous stance would call for objectivity and detachment, claiming that, in trying to insert himself into the scene, the ethnographer not only alters the very situation he is describing but also, by becoming subjectively part of it, he precludes the possibility of his writing objectively about it.

There are risks on either side. The observer who tries to be 'objective' may end up with inadequate information which itself distorts the reality being examined through being superficial and lacking in perspective and nuance. The observer who 'mixed it' with the scene he is describing may end up with copious information that is distorted by his own active participation in what is being observed, and by the necessarily subjective nature of his account as he observed it.

Evaluators in the ethnographic tradition therefore sometimes have to make up their minds whether the threat to objectivity on the one hand is sufficiently warranted and compensated for by the richness of information achieved in participant observation, or whether the threat of distortion by having thin "pickings" to record is sufficiently justified by the 'overall' scientific objectivity a more detached observation stance would afford. Depending on the situation, it may sometimes be possible to strike a more equitable balance between these two extremes.

4.2.2. Robert Stake:[12] the "ethnographic dilemma" is a valid difficulty for evaluators, the more baneful effects of participant observation, collusion and cooption, should be more generally recognised and guarded against.

Robert Stake, commenting favourably on the APM, conceived the possibility of either of the two stances being wrong, of some evaluators erring on the side of leniency and accommodation, of others erring on the side of intransigence, of not adjusting sufficiently to some realities of the research situation. Commenting on a conference discussion in which he reviewed the CAET evaluation of the IFAPLAN EEC programme 'From Education to Working Life',[13] one which he and some others had recently been engaged, and comparing it with UNCAL, the evaluation of The National Development Programme for Computer Assisted Learning,[14] on which Barry MacDonald had reported at one of the conference sessions he said:

> "It seems to me that we (CAET) seized upon the set of findings that was most tolerable to a large number of people and in fact enhanced our own position among them and society. If the main thrust of our positions was in error it was on the side of being too tolerant of conditions. And we also commented (during the discussion) on the probability that if Barry MacDonald in his UNCAL studies, if he was in error, it was probably on the other side, of having been too little accommodating to the conditions of his circumstance."[15]

He himself finds evaluation very "contextual", - the stance he adopts is closely bound up with the situations on which he comments, and he is not quite sure how to rationalise the problem of whether evaluators should or should not adopt prior stands on such evaluation issues as accommodation to or non involvement in the research milieu.

Not adopting some pre-thought-out position might involve evaluations in questionable evaluative activity. Some CAET colleagues for example, he thought, may have overreached evaluation altogether, adopting

the stance and style of the developer rather than that of the evaluator. As far as he could see they were being "forward" and "aggressive" in extending the programme, "assuming some of the burden for the programmes success."[16]

Stake is a little dubious about evaluation adopting the role of 'animateur', much talked of in the "school to work" EEC programmes.[17] One CAET evaluator on such programmes found educators 'inadequately informed about employment and certain social situations', and felt it was his responsibility to obtain the information for them.[18]

Commenting on the formative aspect of evaluation Stake finds the adoption of this formative role by an evaluation difficult to separate from cooption in his experience.[19]

Stake even thinks that if formative evaluation holds a stronger attraction for contractors than summative evaluation might, this brings pressure on the evaluator and causes conflict within different perceptions of his role.[20]

Through involvement in formative work the evaluator becomes committed to the success of the Programme. He cannot be expected to comment with requisite dispassion on courses of action which he himself formerly suggested, advocated or espoused.[21]

Stake feels that these issues, especially those touching on the uses of formative evaluation, need to be clarified, and the possibility of being coopted, having ones objectivity compromised or at least legitimately called in question, should be recognized as a valid difficulty and its potentially harmful influence more generally guarded against.[22]

What is in question in formative sense here is of course programme evaluation. Opinions of an evaluator might be thought seriously to influence the quality of decisions taken about a given programme, decisions which the evaluator who had induced or encouraged them might later feel difficult to repudiate or criticize.

4.2.3. Robert Walker:[23] the dilemma of personal portrayals in human institutions -Soft methodology - a case for research as opposed to evaluation

Other evaluations might touch not on programmes where short term decisions are crucial to the welfare and progress of the project, but rather on institutions where routine efficiency may be more important. In the administrations of bureaucracies for example, decisions may not be as critical as the dispatch with which directives are daily executed in the routines of public service.

Rob Walker conducted evaluative research into the operation of educational institutions both in main stream school situations and in the administrative setup.[24] His research concern was mostly in the area of personal portraiture, as he took the view that individual perceptions of role seriously affect the successful operation of educational institutions, in one way or another enhancing or debilitating it.

In his reply to APM, he distinguishes two phases in his work, two styles of data collection that he successfully adopted. In the first of these phases he employed a hard edged, 'scientific' approach. After some time, influenced by the prospects other methodologies might offer, he adopted another more open approach. He made friends with the individuals he was studying, mixed around with them, invited them and their families to his home, and filled out his perceptions of them by allowing fuller

participation in their lives. In this way he felt he could write about them with greater penetration and point. In time he grew to prefer the second method.

Walker now feels less than satisfied with a picture which is not filled out from knowledge gained in ordinary social interaction with his subject, and is conscious of the limitations which even this fuller view might entail.[25]

However he feels that the richness of a friendship gives a different kind of edged sharpness to the data in comparison with that on subjects who, because of the lack of such relationship, yield data that is comparatively less conducive to the processes of portrayal.[26]

In consideration of the implicit dilemma which faces the ethnographic evaluator, a choice between participant observation and a more detached style of information gathering, Walker distinguishes between evaluation and research.

On the close-up model of evaluation, portrayals necessarily pick up personal inefficiencies and delusions, and the ineffectiveness of measures adopted to achieve stated aims. Research on the other hand allows for a more rounded picture. While the individual being portrayed can have certain negative qualities which may affect his work, these may be balanced out against more positive elements in his personality or character which might support a less destructive or detrimental view of the person's effectiveness and efficiency in the operation of his work.

4.2.4. "Hardness" or "Softness" in evaluation rationale: David Tawney[27] the case for a soft approach to evaluations. The trials of programme developers

As has been pointed out above (4.2.2.), many sponsoring bodies taking evaluations on board are more interested in the formative aspects of evaluation than with the more 'auditing, independent, or service function'[31] - so called summative evaluation. On this formative view the evaluation becomes a kind of consultancy to chivvy along and encourage the project team members with expert advice and help wherever possible.

While the purists in evaluation methodology might look askance at any such involvements, Tawney has good reasons for adopting the style of evaluation which he did, even, it might be thought, on a "cost effective" basis. He argues that evaluators adopting a hard, more orthodox stance are themselves only being counter productive in that they produce in the course of their evaluations such crises of controversy, opposition, communication foul up and loss of confidence as to sometimes cause a perfectly viable project to run imperfectly if not to run down altogether.

Tawney had led the evaluation of the Schools Council Project Technology,[29] and looking back in retrospect he found that he was

> "rather careless of my relationship with the project and was thus rather critical of it in a rather tactless sort of way."[30]

The reason for this was that, apart from his job as full time lecturer at Keele University, at a distance from Loughborough where the project was situated, he was active in a whole range of other interests, from being secretary to a professional group to being deputy editor of a

journal.[31] He could not spend sufficient time on the evaluation to become involved with the project and "find the need" to have a happy relationship with the project team. As a result,

> "I quarrelled with the project or rather the project quarrelled with me, claiming that I was too critical, unsupportive and generally unhelpful."[32]

After his rather unhappy relationship with the project it became clear to him also that the sponsoring body too was not very happy with his criticisms.[33]

Tawney felt that the Programme Committee of NDPCAL with which he later became involved wanted the same form or support from its Evaluation team UNCAL.[34]

In this judgement Tawney says that his view is coloured by his own previous experience. He considers that it is of great importance to the success of an evaluation to set up a good working relationship with the project team being evaluated, "largely because the team have got no clear expectations of what an evaluation could provide and of what their relationships with the evaluation should be."[35]

Tawney's position however was not solely dictated by a friendly personal disposition. In fact he had evolved a completely different view of what constituted evaluation from the hard line, hard look one that some other UNCAL evaluators seemed to adopt. He saw the ideal situation in an evaluation as having been arrived at when a project could conduct evaluation exercises of themselves on their own. To this end he sought to gain acceptance for the idea of evaluation among project personnel, and saw his role as one of promoting the understanding and acceptance of evaluation among them. Tawney backs up his argument for openness with projects with the assertions that, whatever the failures of UNCAL in managing to communicate with the Programme Committee of NDPCAL[36], the team as a whole managed to get the project teams open about themselves.[37]

With the object of creating confidence in evaluation Tawney tended to muster special efforts at the beginning of his relationship with his projects to help them to report success.[38]

One of the techniques which he used to encourage project teams to appreciate the value of evaluation was to monitor the effects the project was having on students. This he saw as evaluation data to which they could relate and which they could use.[39]

While Tawney felt that this might be regarded as a secondary task, and one which could be interpreted perhaps as collusion or cooption of a kind, it could be justified on the ground that it encouraged greater openness to and greater understanding of the evaluation.

As Tawney worked his way through the UNCAL evaluations her became aware of a triangular kind of interaction involving sponsors, the projects and the evaluators, and he could not help thinking that the proper way to conduct the evaluation was to encourage the kind of interface dialogue that was going on among these parties anyway.

> "My work in the NDP made me aware of the three party triangle which perhaps does not come out clearly in your points. The triangle consists has as its apices the sponsors, the evaluators and the project. For example you can have the evaluator critical of the project. The sponsor however gets on very well with it and perhaps has excellent personal relationships with the project and says to the evaluator. You are causing trouble you are upsetting them and generally you have been a nuisance.
>
> Or you can have the evaluators critical of the project, the sponsors also critical and the sponsor will turn to the evaluator and say 'you are supposed to be providing information, both to me and the project why did you not warn me that things were so bad.[40]

In Tawney's view one critical episode of the UNCAL evaluation, confirmed him in the opinion that this triangular communication was necessary. It concerned one of the projects for which he had responsibility. The director was critical of the nature of the CAL this project was doing.

> "My own view was that he had funded the project and he ought to let it get on with itself, until it had established itself. He could then come back and press his criticism to see if he could then throw light on his essential doubt. My fellow evaluators felt that this difference of opinion ought to be raked up more frequently and I refused to it."[41]

4.2.5. Tom Fox:[42] the evaluative brief entails full participation of all parties to the activity, hence evaluation involves creating a proper climate for its own emergence.

Tom Fox in his CC3 response to APM first takes note of a study which shows up a yawning gap between the framers of educational policy and the purveyors of educational evaluation and research.[43] On a checklist of eleven sources of information which American Congressmen use as resources for the framing of policy decisions on educational matters, evaluation and research were, in this study, ranked respectively eleventh and tenth. Congressmen he notes, more regularly seek out information from personal friends who are knowledgeable in the area of education or from other 'friendly' sources than they do from the presentations emanating from educational researchers and evaluators.

He feels that legislators, with their practised personal style would respond positively to documentation presented in similar personal guise.[44]

Fox would hold that elected officials would not have to be 'retrained' to accept the human element in reports, they would automatically look for and take seriously 'individual cases of people who had been affected by programmes', the stories of 'human enterprise' within the studies. They would look for natural presentations devoid of jargon rather than 'some programatic overview which is also over-institutionalised.'

He feels that if naturalistic type enquirers took their own rhetoric seriously then

> "precisely, from the evidence that I have got, precisely the kind of personal evidence upon which elected officials make their decisions, would be provided."[45]

The "human element" is strong in elected officials, the essential reason for their being what they are and where they are is that they appreciate the human kind of thing. That he surmises is why they are so hard to get along with sometimes.

Fox would argue that with elected officials education has a relatively low priority because 'there is not that huge constituency for it, ... except for certain issues that touch everybody in education! In educational bureaucracies however the political issues can be twofold.

> "One is the internal politics of the bureaucracy, the hierarchical relationships, and who thinks what and who does not agree with me on this particular piece or notion that I am championing right now."[46]

In this way matters that are of relatively little political consequence to an elected official can become highly fraught politically within a bureaucracy.[47]

Fox feels that blurring the issues, "murking" them as evaluators often do, removes a great source of defence from bureaucrats seeking to advance certain causes within the bureaucracy. They very often dismiss such presentations or denigrate them as of little worth when what they

mean is that such will not serve to advantage in their favour the bureaucratic political conditions which very often confine them, and render them ineffectual. While it might be difficult to teach old bureaucratic dogs new tricks, Fox feels that the business of informing them must go on, but might be more effectively undertaken on a long term basis.

> "A bureaucracy will be looking for symbolic justification for what they do from a body of research.
> . . . if you begin a kind of informal process of influence over time with young bureaucrats, you may eventually build up a pattern of influence by introducing them, among other things, to the nature of educational problems which they probably have never addressed themselves to in a way ... You can then introduce them to the nature of the setting in which their bureaucratic interventions occur...."[48]

Looking at ways and means similarly to influence legislators so as to make them aware of the relevance of research and educational policy, Fox suggests taking account of how they operate:- who they rely on to establish useful contact points and to secure access to needed information for them.[49]

Since the Conference largely focussed on the influence of naturalistic enquiry type evaluations on educational policy making, Fox did not elaborate on the relationships between naturalistic evaluation and project teams/or pupils. However the terms he uses ('change the Congressman'... 'influencing affairs and controlling aspects of the implementation of policy')[50] show that Fox is interested in getting through to the people who influence policy and make decisions, and in impressing on them the relevance of research and evaluation.

Preparing in this way for the communication of evaluation accounts, insofar as it is a legitimate evaluation exercise, can be seen as the

creation of a climate of acceptance for evaluation, a climate in which it can more truthfully and genuinely be seen to emerge as a valid and valuable expertise.

4.2.6. The 'Soft' Approach to evaluation and the possibility of collusion or cooption: a summary of the views expressed by some evaluators

What might be termed the 'soft' approach to evaluation identifies two problem areas. The first is methodological, the second is in the area of practical communication.

In the first problem area, the methodological, the ethnographic observer finds it necessary, in order to gain access to rich and more accurate information, to enter into the world he is observing, to make friends and enemies like everyone else, to become part of it so is the better to remark on it. This runs the risk of subjectivity. To follow the path of objective rectitude in such circumstances has an agreed problematic agenda.[51] Still, many observers prefer to saturate themselves in the scene, and so appear to collude with it or be coopted in it, on the grounds that it is later possible to achieve something of an objective clawback. But this return to scientific validity may be more achievable in a research, rather than in an evaluative situation.[52] Evaluation, typically, is less tolerant of human defects and inconsis tencies, and so the observer's humanity can be prorogued.

The second problem set identifiable in the 'soft' approach is practical. A credibility gap that exists between the evaluation practitioner on the one hand and some of his audiences on the other,

necessitates preparatory communication activity designed to build up confidence, credibility and acceptance for the processes of evaluation, and for its products.

The fact that some audiences cannot cope with the methods and products of certain forms of evaluation can be put down to a basic lack of comprehension.[53] Evaluation is a new science and not all evaluators are in agreement about its purports and processes. Prior assumptions, mechanisms of defence, ingrained and not amenable to rational discourse, assert themselves regressively so as to render the evaluation activity unproductive as far as these audiences were concerned.[54]

To surmount these and other difficulties certain appearances of collusion or cooption seem acceptable provided long term goals, confidence in and acceptance for the processes, methodologies, systems of observation and reportage of evaluation are eventually achieved.

Although some of the processes inherent in the 'soft' approach might have the appearances of collusion or cooption, basically it need not prove to be a derogation or abandonment of role. The approach is premised on evaluation as a rational exercise and such alignments of discourse as are deemed necessary to plant the root of reason or to achieve better all round results might seem legitimate. However in the opinion of some evaluators, the danger of the evaluation being turned to some other purpose, involving accepting some responsibility for the success of the programme for example, should be recognized and guarded against where possible.[55] This is more likely to occur in formative rather than in summative situations, and the desire of sponsors to have evaluators adopt a consultative role is noted as a somewhat perilous possibility to be avoided where possible.

4.2.7. The harder face of evaluation. Malcolm Parlett[56] its easy when you are tough

The possibility of evaluation being involved in forms of cooption or collusion has so far been presented as part of a wider problem of communication. An evaluator may appear to be in cahoots with the project he is evaluating, but this may be explained partly as the pursuit of better and more accurate information, partly as an attempt to build up confidence in and acceptance for the activity of evaluation. A different problem of communication would seem to exist between the evaluator and his various audiences, be these sponsors, programme designers, legislators, or others concerned with policy-making deliberations. It would seem that the gaps between evaluators and some of these bodies need a good deal of preparatory bridging if research and evaluation are to pertinently enhance the decision making process.

In these cases communication can be seen as a necessary means to achieve wholesome and fruitful evaluation activity. As such it can be intrinsically linked to such activity, distinct from it, but part of the function of information gaining and sharing which are necessary pre-conditions for the smooth prosecution of good evaluations.

Parlett responding to APM would not see such communication as being so central to evaluative research. He treats problems of communication piecemeal as they come up in the course of getting on with the job. His understanding is that he has a contractual obligation to do a job of work, and that is, to conduct an evaluation for a sponsor. There are certain ways of doing this and he is professional and practised in them. Like on any other job, one just goes and does it. As in any other work

situation, difficulties of communication arise and he did not see these as intrinsic to the job itself. You had to be tough minded and get around them somehow.[57]

Parlett would have no qualms about causing rifts, either with friends or with agencies, provided he got the information that he wanted, and gave the results of his findings as he saw fit.

At one stage he was working with a certain foundation and was hoping to get money from them with which to do more work. Needing access to data which this foundation was very reluctant to give him, Parlett insisted on getting what he wanted, and would have done so even if that meant his not getting the other work. He felt such hazards were a part of the job. As in any free enterprise one was in there competing for projects, and the only assurance one had of getting work was the professionalism with which each job was accomplished. Setting high standards for oneself earned respect and confidence from would-be prospective sponsors, even if in the short term they might be dismayed or hurt by an evaluator's demands or by his/her lack of temerity.

Parlett allowed himself to be wooed into a kind of collusive relationship on one occasion. His feelings about this incident are so clear and so well put that it is worth quoting them in full.

> "Well I certainly have been coopted and on one occasion in a way that involved essentially a change of role from being a kind of detached evaluator to being one of a tamed consultant who is trying to make the programme go.[58]

Parlett evinces a clear distinction between the kind of consultancy role he adopted here and good evaluation practice be it formative or otherwise. In the evaluation situation he would not be offering advice. His reports would be informative, objective and not weighted as recommendations towards any particular decisions that were being made about the project. This would be feedback that was non-recommendatory,

descriptive, critical, even judgemental. In the consultancy situation he would be more directly offering advice to a Management Committee, and as an expert outsider he would feel the more listened to because his position in the project made him also something of an expert insider.

By contrast Parlett did not allow himself to become coopted in another study he was on.

> "The study I am now doing, ... I feel that I have to get a lot of data from the programme director whose programme I am studying. The programme director would very much like to coopt the study, would like in a sense to control the study, and make me a kind of stooge, but I resist that and that causes a kind of tension. But I have not been coopted in this particular study."[59]

Parlett would spend a lot of time with the sponsors who are the audience for the study. He would work very closely with them and with them negotiate out the meaning of the research. And he would have no compunction to really grab hold of these people, making them see the evaluation's point of view. For this reason he is critical of the APM schema as it indicates a much too passive evaluation stance. Rather he would go for them and make them see his point of view.[60]

While this procedure might involve confrontations on occasion he would feel that the evaluator must put the evaluation points with reason but without fear.

> "There are times when a confrontation is necessary <u>in extremis</u>. But I suspect that most of these situations could be obviated, that you can get around them by really poised and pointed discussion of the problems. I mean the evaluator has to be fair to a number of points of view and there are different perspectives on the same situation."[61]

Even when a given point of view is uncomfortable to the individual or group concerned Parlett would deem it necessary as an evaluator to give it.

> "And my experience is that if you are very open and upfront in confronting about those kinds of things, then people may huff and puff, but they come around to accepting the logic of your position.

4.2.8. The harder face of evaluation Barry MacDonald:[63] the durability of democratic evaluation.

MacDonald, responding to APM, said he had a model for democratic evaluation based on the supposition that everybody involved in education including all parties to the project concerned in the evaluation and even the general public, are entitled to know what goes on. While he mediates meanings between the sponsors, project managers and personnel, and with the schools people involved in the project or programme of development, he expresses a greater responsibility towards project personnel who often are in a weaker position vis a vis the power structure involved in making decisions about their future. But he also feels a duty towards the public at large and feels that they are entitled to know what it is goes on in the enclaves of education.

To secure this objective, Mac Donald has devised his model which seeks to negotiate and mediate the evaluation meanings to these various audiences. In particular during the UNCAL evaluation he sought to negotiate the reports with the project people first, and, thus admitted and passed through the public forum, to negotiate them upwards through the bureaucracy for consideration and approval. In fact it did not all work out in the way he had intended.

He succeeded in negotiating the model contractually with the bureaucracy, and factually with the projects, but when it came to negotiating the products factually with the bureaucracy he found that they rejected the reports.

He sought above all to devise a set of procedures

> "which are designed to make the transition from private to public knowledge fair to those whose privacy was being invaded; but the model is so difficult to operate that the citizenry is not in fact served. So that a model which is designed to serve the citizenry is the very one which is least effective in serving them."[64]

MacDonald might also have added that the model in the case of UNCAL did not succeed either in serving the interests of the project people. Although the reports were negotiated at the step funding meetings with the project teams,' as has been seen above,[65] because the Programme Committee did not read them, the interests of the project people were not served either. So the reports were ineffectual as regards two of the audiences which are central to the whole concept of democratic evaluation. And the reason was that the other audience, Programme Committee refused them, not allowing the democratic processes inherent in the model to work.

While Barry MacDonald's democratic evaluation might seem on the face of it to be soft in essence, his implementation of it in the case of UNCAL had all the appearances of a 'hard' approach. He laid down a detailed contract from the beginning[66] and later, after agreement, insisted on its provisions being carried out. The Programme Committee did not see themselves bound to the agreement, feeling that certain clauses had not been adequately presented to them from the beginning, declining to be evaluated themselves as part of the programme, and rejecting certain procedures which caught them in unaccustomed public discourse about matters normally conducted in the anonymity appropriate to the 'Service'.

These points of principle he had in theory negotiated with Programme Committee of NDPCAL, but they were unwilling to accept their factual working in practice. He found therefore that democratic

evaluation was ineffectual as a concept and broke down and became unworkable because, as negotiated, its practical implications were not acceptable in bureaucratic circles.

4.2.9. The "Hard" face of evaluation practice

Parlett and MacDonald seem to be less conciliatory and more competitive as evaluators than would be advocates of a 'softer' more humane approach. In a sense they are normative. That is to say, they tend to lay down evaluative rules for themselves and for others and then negotiate them in a tough, hard-headed way. These rules concern, the absolute right to the information, full coverage of every detail of the evaluated, including the management, and absolute freedom to publish on every aspect of the evaluation, including all the information received.

They eschew all human considerations. The fact that some people being evaluated will be unaccustomed to the exercise, the fact that extenuating circumstances, bad management or other extrinsic factors may have damaged people involved in the situation, will not influence judgement in any way.

A principled approach to the matter in hand is inconsiderate of human weakness. It can be preempted by moves to protect the weak. Rival competitive political interests on the side of the threatened evaluated can override and render ineffectual the best efforts of the evaluator who adopts a 'hard' uncompromising approach. But this perhaps is because the evaluator himself has become political, keen to make his points at the cost of a certain objectivity and detachment. One key assessment for the evaluator to make is the effect of his own principled action in situations of possible failure and weakness.

4.3. The possibility of negotiating a more restricted contract, or of deflecting the evaluation into peripheral or undamagingly technical surrogate tasks

This section illustrates and analyses the problem of "renegotiation". The possibility of a "rolling negotiation" is considered as an antidote.

4.3.1. MacDonald: the NDPCAL Programme Committee's attempt to restrict the evaluation brief of UNCAL

Tawney remarked that there was an attempt made by Programme Committee to renegotiate UNCAL's contract.

> "Perhaps another point I could make about your second problem. You describe on your sheet of paper, in very much the terms that MacDonald would use, the conflict which occurred during the NDP between him and the Programme Committee, over whether or not the evaluators were supposed to be evaluating the whole project including the Programme Committee. MacDonald would argue that his contract would entitle him to do this. And the Committee were trying to negotiate a more restricted contract where he merely looked at CAL as happening in the different projects."[67]

Tawney could see the validity of what MacDonald was attempting. But he regarded the ensuing disagreement as having been sterile and unnecessary.

> "If I had been director I would have certainly looked at the Committee and the political setup and how the whole thing was set up. But I would have taken great care to have won the confidence of the Programme Committee first, instead of alienating them from the start as MacDonald did.[68]

There is no doubt that both NDPCAL director Richard Hooper and MacDonald UNCAL director were very worried by a continued misunderstanding between the UNCAL evaluation and Programme Committee. In a recorded interview 1/8/1974 between Hooper and MacDonald,[69] UNCAL director expressed some reservations about the present difficulties between the evaluation and the Programme Committee.

McD. "we have to get through the present strain and potential alienation of the Programme Committee which I want to avoid at any cost except the evaluation stance... If there is alienation it wouldn't be my doing, it would be forced on me."

Hooper ... I tend to stand back but if it comes to an issue I will certainly speak up.

McD. I am evaluating a Programme and not just from the shoulders down. It has got to include the head, if it is to make sense.[70]

This shows not only the seriousness of the concern about the difficulty with Committee but also the basic issue of that concern, the Committee's disinclination to be included in the evaluation and its wish to negotiate out of the UNCAL contract. It also reveals MacDonald's determination not to back down on this fundamental aspect of the evaluation stance.

A perusal of the contract however would reveal no explicit reference to the fact that Committee were to be included. The account of this episode and the issues it raised emerged only gradually during the course of MacDonald's presentation at CC3.[71]

MacDonald records that the Committee were astounded with the very first UNCAL report. This report was produced by MacDonald and Stake, the latter coming on board for the first six months of the evaluation.[72]

That first report was in fact in the form of a playlet in which Stake and MacDonald caricatured the poses and the vocabulary of the Committee.[73] Perhaps they intended to pull off some kind of tour de force with the introduction of a playlet, an unusual artifice being premiered to an unaccustomed audience.

Jenkins was inclined however to think that most of the negative reaction was due to the play:

> "I would have though that at least seventy five per cent of the reaction was sheer affront at being given a play."[74]

Later Jenkins was to admit that part of the affront at least was due to the fact that the play was not a good one.[75]

But it is obvious also that the Committee was astonished to find itself as the object, and at such an early stage, of the exercise of evaluation. To say that it did not see itself as party to such an effort would appear to be an understatement. On being questioned by Smith[76] as to whether he had negotiated "access and substance on looking at the Committee per se"... as object to be evaluated, MacDonald replied

> "No we didn't, the Committee sponsored us on the basis of a proposal. Now if you read that proposal carefully, all our subsequent action could be deduced from it."[77]

Parlett seemed to think that in his adopting this procedure at the negotiation, MacDonald was being less than frank with the Programme Committee.

> "It does slightly sound as if you were denying them the same rights you accorded to the programme people, the participants in the projects. It does sound to me that there was a kind of double standard."[78]

It is extremely doubtful if, at the time the evaluation was negotiated the Programme Committee would have accepted an evaluation which included explicitly the Programme Committee, its structures and the way it conducted its business, within the scope of the evaluation.[79] In heading off a confrontation at this point it could be argued that MacDonald was acting with cunning and some political acumen. In a sense he walked the Programme Committee, through judicious wording of the articles, into signing for an evaluation of themselves which he knew they would neither want nor accept had they known about it.

According to Tawney, it is extremely doubtful if MacDonald would have accepted an evaluation which would <u>not</u> have included the Committee and its political situation within its brief.[80]

In the circumstances it is difficult to accuse MacDonald of bad faith. In so far as he was concerned this was a business deal, and it was a case of "caveat emptor" if the Committee later felt they had been 'done'.

Nor could he have been entirely innocent for all the elegance of his plan, of many of its 'unforeseen' outcomes.[81] In casting the die at contract, he had in a sense thrown down the gauntlet.

Tawney's interpretation is very instructive on this particular point.[82] His outlook on evaluation had been coloured by his experience on Project Technology,[83] when to a large extent he felt he had adopted a negative approach towards the project and schools he had evaluated. He felt this had damaged the groups who had had very little experience of evaluation. Thereafter he felt he should create a climate of favour for evaluation, getting his clients to understand it and working them gradually towards an attitude of acceptance and confidence towards evaluation.[84]

He felt that this attitude should extend also towards sponsors. Their confidence in the exercise of evaluation and in its ultimate usefulness, needed he felt to be built up.[85] In the case of project Technology he felt the sponsors wanted him to help the project people to communicate better with the schools and children. Programme Committee of NDPCAL, Tawney felt, also wanted the same for the various projects it funded. It wanted UNCAL to help them to succeed.[86]

Tawney might thus excuse MacDonald his contractual arrangement with Programme Committee by which he cast a part for UNCAL as evaluating the Committee itself. But he would not underwrite MacDonald's methods, which were such as to alienate its members rather than build up their confidence in the evaluation process.[87]

Whatever about his criticisms of Tawney for being over-friendly with projects, MacDonald and the other evaluators seem, speaking generally, to have succeeded in setting up a framework whereby the projects could gain greater insight into evaluation, and obtaining a degree of self knowledge. The projects gained in general from the exercise and were not threatened or turned off by it.

From the outset MacDonald set out to form an alliance with the projects. Thus he negotiated with them on the fairness, accuracy and relevance of all reports, and sought to represent them fairly and adequately with the Committee in a kind of advocate role. His attitude to the Committee, however, tended to be that of the prosecutor rather than the advocate. His reason for this would be that they had been responsible for the structure whereby projects had no access to the decision making. In a sense Committee was centralising the power within itself. In attempting to evaluate the Committee therefore MacDonald seemed to have adopted the attitude of the reformer who thinks the proper way of dealing with power is by building up a power base of one's own and moving in on the citadel.

This praxis proved non productive, indeed counter productive. But there is still no way of finding out if a more reasonable, less upfront approach to the Committee would have produced better results. MacDonald seems not to have thought of one that might.

4.3.2. Another "renegotiation of contract": Clem Adelman and the Three Colleges of Education Evaluation (TCEE)[88]

Clem Adelman gave an account of his evaluation of Three Colleges of Education at CC3. In it he recorded the reply he received when he answered an advert for a 'creative researcher.' The documentation from the college which was to house the project contained three sorts of information.

> "..... the first paragraph was about the College, how long it had been established and what it did, the second was about suggesting how the research might be pertinent, the third was about self study. And being there as the third paragraph it looked as if it was going to be the main task of whatever work I was going to do. And self study was repeated in the four side document. Self study was suggested as being pertinent because the colleges had stopped expanding and reached a steady state or state of stability."[89]

Adelman was awarded the job, and assuming he was working for Three Colleges, began work in March 1976. By then rumours that there were going to be cutbacks in Colleges of Higher Education had become true. Some colleges had received notice that they were to terminate their teaching preparation within three years.

Attempting the self study Adelman found it did not work. The staffs of the Three Colleges of Education which he was researching had not been prepared, as had been promised, for this form of inquiry, and the talk of cutbacks had made feelings run high. People in some areas were feeling very sensitive and reacted badly to the proposed self study.

His Steering Committee told him he was not working to his original brief.

> "And I said what original brief, I wrote the P4 form, which was the formal proposal for money to the DES. And... 'We'll discuss that at the next meeting.' For the next meeting along with the agenda came a P4 form and the proposal that I'd seen originally in the application for our salaries.

> And lo and behold in this so called original proposal were two additional sections. One section said the data would be handed over to the DES under the usual conditions of anonymity. It didn't specify what data..."[90]

The document further specified that two other studies in addition to the original self study: one dealing with curriculum/assessment and the other with the social constitution of students of the Colleges. Concentrating on the social constitution of students Adelman brought out a report which was well received all round. But the matter of why his contract had been altered was never really resolved.

Questioned more closely about the appearance of two contracts Adelman replied:

> "There were two contracts. There was the one I signed which was a regular ordinary teacher's contract for Berkshire. And there was a contract which I've still never seen which went to the College. I've never seen it though I asked for it three times. I requested it from the project director. It was not that I couldn't see it, I just made these requests and got no response."[92]

Although Adelman's contract had altered whether by negotiation or not, the event of the 'original' brief could be interpreted as an attempt to get the research back on the 'rails' into some form of "DES related" activity to which the Committee may have had recourse in an effort to retrieve its position after the failure of the self study. But there are too many unasked questions for an attempted explanation at this point.

The certain thing is that Adelman was left with not a more restricted but a more open contract which enabled him to partly leave aside Committee considerations, make a "value judgement" of his own[93] and go for a form of study which eventually proved both successful, and more importantly, more useful to the personnel of the colleges and to those who had to make decisions about them.

4.3.3. "Rolling Negotiation" and Research Procedures: John Elliott[94]

Many of those at CC3 might agree that the policy makers might be out of touch with the day to day realities of educational research. A conference submission from Louis Smith quoting Horowitz and Katz runs:

> "An examination of how the social sciences impart policy guide lines in the United States and the ways in which policy-making apparatus supports and underwrites social science activity is a thoroughly ubiquitous exercise. The magnitude of the undertaking invited scepticism at least and scorn at most."[95]

Some would read between the lines of policy makers' indifference a subtle cover up. John Elliott remarks:

> However, I think there are cases as MacDonald suggests where bureaucratic agencies genuinely want studies in the naturalistic mode even when they don't need them. And I would suggest that such studies are wanted because they provide a smokescreen of democratic intent to mask the motive of social control. The rhetoric of participatory democracy must be sustained if the bureaucratic relation between the administration and the citizenry is to develop without too much opposition."[96]

On such grounds it might indeed be possible to conclude that the bureaucratic need to renegotiate a contract like MacDonald's occurred when he was getting behind the smokescreen if not biting close to the bone. Adelman's case was different. In the absence of a genuine policy, perhaps, it is possible to represent the contract alteration he encountered either as due to procedural shortcomings, or as a manifestation of within-establishment purdahs.

One project which made a genuine attempt to deal directly with the imponderables of policy related research was introduced by John Elliott at CC3, and deserves mention in this context because of a certain principle of ongoing negotiation that was imbedded in it, and the kind of rolling openness to dialogue to which it was committed. This was the

Cambridge Accountability Project. (CAP) An SSRC sponsored project CAP was exploring the feasibility and potential of a "responsive" model of school accountability as an alternative to the 'social control' mode.[97] Six schools were being studied over a period of two years beginning in January 1979 by five researchers each with responsibility for one or two schools. The report to the Conference was made by John Elliot. Concerning a policy for the negotiation of access to schools he records:

> The policy reflected our general view that field research in politically sensitive areas is best negotiated by those who enjoy personal and trusting relationships with the decision-makers, rather than hierarchically from the director."[98]

This view also informed the selection of, and negotiation with, schools. Heads and senior staff were chosen who knew the researchers well and who were accustomed to participant observations research. Senior staff in five out of the six schools finally selected had been involved with one or more team members in inservice work, and were familiar with their ideas about research and evaluation methodology.

"In addition to the criterion of personal contact, besides a mix in regard to school size and setting there were two further criteria for the selection of schools.

> "First, that headteachers and senior staff percieved their schools to be developing the responsive type of accountability we wanted to investigate. Secondly, that our 'sample' would include schools with different accounting priorities."[99]

Behind these modes of negotiation and selection was a principle: that naturalistic type research demands for its successful accomplishment mutual trust and an understanding of the basis and procedures of this form of study.

> 'We didn't want to spend a lot of time overcoming initial suspicion and distrust about our style of participant-observation research."[100]

Elliot wanted to set up an ideal background for the conduct of his study and selected schools developing already the type of responsive communication between different educational interests which he wanted both to study and encourage in this "action research" programme. Elliott recounted at CC3 that in the school he was observing he negotiated with staff his data collection procedures, and becoming "part of the furniture"[101] as it were, ("a kind of pipe smoking teddy bear"), he was enlisted by staff, as a parent himself, to spy for them on parents day ("what questions are they asking the children"), and eventually was asked to join the Board of Governors just at the point where his inquiry was moving from "within groups"; staff/children/parents, to an investigation of "outside bodies" such as the Board. And the kind of ongoing renegotiation of his role which he sometimes humorously portrayed as a non-committal and matter-of-fact revision, was useful in creating observable "bow waves" with the biting issues he was able to visit on varying "participant" objects of his study.[102]

His presentation of CAP at CC3 could well argue that his criteria for selection of subjects for study and for onrolling negotiation might be prerequisites for naturalistic study of school environments. Unfortunately not all naturalistic evaluators can choose and select their subjects and settings as Elliott did, and not all societies are as open and self critical as some areas of North American Academia. Nevertheless if a pathology remains a map of things that go wrong in chronic ways, it must be defined in reference to the way that things go right.

4.4. The possibility of distancing or rejecting either the evaluator or his products

This section illustrates forms of rejection/distancing. It also provides a history and an elenchus of associated coping devices or "avoidance contrivances."

4.4.1. General statements of the problem: Elliott/MacDonald

John Elliottt recalls that in one of the Schools Council's evaluations which he undertook a clause had been built into his contract preempting him from making any criticisms of council decisions.

He regarded this as a restriction of his role as evaluator, as an assimilation or cooption into the Schools Council, and as an implied rejection of any crticism he might see fit as an evaluator to make of the Council. John saw that this had certain serious disadvantagesand disregarded it in his report.[103] Elliott had his report passed by the appropriate committee two years previously, and he had recently been told that it could only be published in duplicate form, not by a regular publisher because of certain alleged factual inaccuracies.

Most of the other problems which Elliott had encountered on evaluations concerned the nature of the reportage. There was in the bureaucracy an expectation for statistical reports. Even among teachers to whom he had been giving courses on evaluation the expection was for specification of aims and verification of outcomes. He blamed the lack of understanding of more adequate evaluation methods on the management courses which teachers and principals attend, these are dominated by "inferior" types of research methodology.

While it might not be possible to entirely bury a report for which monies had been allocated, it is possible for a bureaucratic organisation to distance itself from the evaluation by refusing publication. Doing so

might be seen as discrediting the evaluator and his findings. The implied rejection MacDonald finds intriguing, an instance of bureaucratic non-event.[104] But despite assurances to the contrary, MacDonald hypothesises that this assumption is wrong, that on the contrary, programmes are "terminal outputs of policy, and programme evaluations the final flourish." He feels that this goes a long way to explain why evaluators feel "wanted but not needed." His not unwhimsical analysis on this theme spells out some of the consequences that might follow from assuming this "counter intuitive proposition" to be true.

1. THE SPRINGS OF EXECUTIVE RECOIL - GAME STRATEGIES OF DOWN-PLAY

1.1. The executive welcomes vindicative data (which tells them they have done enough and done it well) and rejects indicative data (which tells them of unsatisfied needs, obligations, aims.)

1.2. The executive will use the evaluation report selectively to minimise further obligation to the constituency supposedly served by the programme.

1.3. The executive will do its best to ensure that the evaluation does not yield information it might be compelled to act upon, or information that could be used against it.

1.4. To this end it will want to ensure that the discourse of evaluation is either different from its own (epistemologically irreconcilable) or, if similar, less comprehensive (insufficient for decision-making).

1.5. Should the evaluation avoid these snares, the executive will move to a critical stance, avoiding further participation in the process or response to it.

1.6. It may also seek to delay the evaluation by the escalation of demand upon it, seek private ownership of the product, decline to publish or otherwise support its dissemination.

1.7. If feasible the executive may try to ignore, suppress or misrepresent the product.

1.8. The executive may try to provoke the evaluator into behaviour which would cast doubt upon the objectivity of his work or which would constitute breach of faith or breach of contract.[105]

The depiction replicates directly MacDonald's own experience on UNCAL with the NDPCAL Programme Committee. The nature and purpose of the UNCAL contract has been discussed in the previous section (4.3.) In his attempt to avoid the possibility of rejection or ignoring of reports MacDonald built into the UNCAL articles the notion of "participant endorsement". His remarks on this concept during an APM interview at CC3 were commented on as follows:

> "It is easy to pass down judgements from the liveried precincts of the ivory tower. It is different if you mix it with the issues. There you are likely either to come out with only your socks on, or else have to stay and punch it out with everybody else. Either way a decision to join issue is a committment to loss in dignity and aloofness, which otherwise suffixes rejection like a proof. The man who says nothing, considers himself justified by the aura of his silence. The man who says something had already committed himself not to skidaddle."[106]

However it is one thing to propose the principle of participant endorsement. 4.4.2. The political praxis of assertion and the concept of political endorsement

Becher at CC3[107] accepted that MacDonald might have had certain valid, if perhaps, ulterior political motives behind the evaluation of UNCAL, these touching on the distribution of power, and on the over-centralised nature of some current embodiments of the democratic process. He thought however, that MacDonald was not "political enough" in the procedures that he followed.

According to him, MacDonald should have treated the Committee as a "legitimate" structure, not as a "political" one. He indicates that UNCAL should have tried to "get inside" the minds of the Committee members, to "get to know how they tick". In cautionary guise he hints that anyone who does not do this in circumstances where the power structure is so encrustated, is "on a hiding to nothing".

What Becher seems to have in mind is this, that given that the Committee was the kind of structure it was, the members had certain legitimate concerns, to which MacDonald should have addressed himself with more adroitness if he was going to make any headway with them. He implies that because MacDonald did not interest himself in the Committee's actual concerns, he did not act politically, not recognising either the constraints of the situation or the problematic nature of the art of the possible. He had avoided the real Committee agenda, and, rather,

pressed on them his own interests and his own view of their responsibilities.[109] On the face of it, what MacDonald had said about his and UNCAL's discourse with Programme Committee would seem to have conveyed the impression of a rather one-sided intransigent stand by the evaluation on behalf of the projects, and an insistence on keeping to the terms of the contract ad litteram. His response to the CC3 discussion, aggressively clear in its appraisal, is no less uncompromising than his stand with Committee had seemed.[110] But Parlett found that the two alternatives proposed by MacDonald were insufficient. According to him there was a legitimate "tertium quid".

> ". . . to bring into the formal discussion the nature of the interface (The Committee, the Projects), and to discuss and breakdown of the understandings and . . . to negotiate and come out with a different formulation. Which doesn't necessarily mean caving in entirely, but . . . raises all the issues for open discussion."[111]

For Parlett it was the job and duty of the evaluation to effect this kind of discussion.[112] This would seem to put the responsibility of the breakdown of communications squarely on the shoulders of UNCAL. However Jenkins was assured that this was not so. The evaluation team had been driven into a position of apparent intransigence and even of criticism of the Committee only because the Committee itself had first turned against UNCAL. Like court jesters turned troubeleins, in Elizabethan drama, the evaluators had only become critics of the regime when faced with the reality of their own rejection.[113]

In a long expose he suggested that a great deal of what Parlett wanted done had in fact been undertaken, that "the confrontational model that we are beginning to develop, is rather picked out of Barry's (MacDonald's) shorthand account." UNCAL had taken a good deal of the criticisms from the Committee on board. The team had "pared down" the reports, dropped "stylistic excesses" in response to criticism, and tried

to get the analysis as crisp as possible so as to enable everyone to read the reports. Wherever reasonable approaches were made, or valid claims established the response of UNCAL was genuine and real. But the response, such as it was, was limited by certain preconditions, and these inhibited the scope of valid transactions to be negotiated with the Committee.

> "There were some areas in which we felt we should explain and not negotiate because this was about the preconditions under which we gained access to the projects."[114]

Having gained access to the projects under certain preconditions, negotiation of reports with the projects was one, they could not alter these after access had been ceded and availed of.

MacDonald saw the problem in terms of providing a service to both parties, to the Committee on the one hand and to the projects on the other. He regarded it as the prime duty of the evaluation to represent the projects adequately and fairly, and felt that this limited what could be done to service the Committee, which in effect was demanding a form of representation of the projects which MacDonald regarded as inadequate and unfair, and which moreover violated the agreed contract.[115]

MacDonald's insistence was not merely procedural, one of sticking to what had been agreed in contract. It was that. But behind it was a principal central to the whole purpose of the evaluation, the protection of the evaluated, and the ceding to them of their rights in the situation. This entailed that the core meanings of the evaluation would have to be negotiated from the bottom up.

This meant that the evaluators had the <u>ipse dixit</u> of the projects in their presentations to the Committee. In the ensuing transactions Committee members became aware that approval by the projects altered the status of the documents. Not only did it make them 'official' in the

civil service sense of having been passed by whatever body, they were also public. And transactions enacted on this basis would not only be subject to public scrutiny, they would be subject to public sanction as well. Committee members could be called to task. There was a new set of rules for Committee. They were not in a position to call all of the shots.

The quite deliberate, and well worked-out grand strategy of MacDonald's democratic evaluation, and his mordent application of it in his dealings with Committee, while appearing manipulative, was simple and unpretentious in fact. It was a principled application of the democratic process inside a system used to more managerial methods. But once adopted as a procedural goal the accommodations that could be made to a system of control radically opposed to it, were restricted in the extreme.

> "So long as you had public reporting, so long as the representations of the projects' work had to be seen by them and say 'that is the basis, that is what's going out', then you were very limited in what you could do to accommodate the Programme Committee's needs".[116]

Fox would hold that MacDonald had wrongly defined the problem as one of negotiation of evaluation products. The focus must be, Fox would argue, on what the nature of cooperative inquiry in the circumstances would be. But even he might admit that such inquiry might prove even less productive than what MacDonald attempted in the context in which UNCAL was working.

Louis Smith would have held that like there being horses for courses there were evaluations for audiences. Accepting the CARE terminology, democratic, autocratic, and bureaucratic evaluations he would identify audiences suitable for each, and identify a further category.

Smith puts his lineup in the following scheme.

Client	Professional	Institutional	Aesthetic
Democratic	Autocratic	Bureaucratic	Artistic
Collegial	Peer	Sponsor	Individual
Underdog		Middledog	Personal
		Overdog	Idiosyncratic
			Narcissistic
			Craft[117]

While this looks neat one wonders again how the methodological picture would look in representing evaluatively across the divisions, ie. representing underdog to overdog in the way MacDonald was attempting with UNCAL. The problems of negotiating across the cultural barriers are enormous one would have thought in the light of the experience of one who sought to devise a methodology to achieve it.

4.4.3. Another aspect of rejection: Rob Walker and the bias of intuitive data processing

Rob Walker recorded from a different setting a different kind of evaluation rejection. The setting was a case study of Bilingual schooling in the U.S.A. conducted by Barry MacDonald, and Rob Walker from CARE, and others, in Boston's Rafael Hernandez elementary School.[118] This study resulted from a chance meeting between MacDonald, Maria Brisk head of Boston University's Bilingual Program, and Marjorie Martus, a program officer of the Ford Foundation.

The design of the programme as outlined in the original proposal. The Hernandez School was to be intensively observed over a period of three weeks, and data was to be collected mainly from observation of classroom practice and from interview.[119]

During the course of his fieldwork Walker experienced a rejection of his portrait of her by a teacher he had come greatly to admire. His description is given here in full as a totally different kind of rejection to what has been described in the previous discussion (4.4.1., 4.4.2.) He gave it in interview in response to the same relevant section of the APM, rejection/distancing. A portrayal was not well received by one of his interviewees, a nun.[120]

> "And she just rejected the whole thing. She said: 'you are absolutely right about the way I teach. That is the way I teach, that is the kind of person I am in the classroom. And it is a shock to see it. And I cannot say it is comfortable or easy. But it is just that I do not want anybody to see that. If that got out to the parents they would destroy me. People outside could use that to close me down."[121]

In a sense this represents a totally different style of rejection. It is a rejection by the portrayed of the image of her represented in the portrayal, readily admitted as a true one, on grounds that it might be publicly misrepresented in a politically sensitive situation. Persons doing good work in extremely difficult situations seem to need a low profile bordering on anonymity in order to continue the work.

The portrayal of a head mistress, in highly sensitive circumstances in Derry, in which a very daunting situation elicited leadership and bravery which seemed noteworthy to the evaluation, was refused publication by her on grounds that public notoriety would diminish rather than enhance the effectiveness of her work.[122]

Noticeable in Walker's account is a kind of clash of values between the observer and the teacher. She does not turn out to be the kind of teacher he would expect her, a person of such devotion and dedicated integrity, to be. Perhaps he would have expected from his conversations with her a motherly type of person in the classroom.

He is calling her fierce whereas her erstwhile mentors would have said that she had good discipline. Her emphasis on tidiness involves her, in Walker's words, "driving" the kids.

Royce Sadler[123] writing of bias in evaluation settings speaks of the natural capacity in everyday life situations to "recover from the consequences of a partially incorrect judgement, to revise an opinion, or to salvage some pieces. Vague conceptions can be tolerated because they need to be clarified only to the extent that makes the next stop possible." This process is less tolerable in evaluation situations where lives depend on the outcome of the evaluation process.[124]

In this instance, however, Walker's decision to try and openly negotiate gave him a new insight into the situation, and allowed him space to revise his initial impression that the person's vision of her circumstance was more secure in its overall impact on her behaviour than it turned out to be in fact.[125] He made appropriate allowances.

4.4.4. Other experiences of rejection: an "anatomy" of failed evaluations

Some written replies to APM provided some interesting sidelights on the subject of rejection, and some documents show how all of the APM reactions might form part of an "anatomy" of failed evaluation experience.

In some replies it was indicated that evaluators needed to have access to very sensitive information and very often caused all kinds of disturbances by the way they handled it. Commentatory would favour the negotiation of a mutually rewarding relationship.

One stressed that evaluators who were career oriented tended to show lack of integrity in the way they used sensitive material.[126] If you are over the hump and secure in your career, it is easier to be human, and take the human elements in evaluation into account. Louis Smith makes a similar comment in a CC3 submission.[127]

An other respondent[128] would plead for more sensitivity to originators and developers of programmes as it is much easier to be destructive than constructive toward people with original ideas.[129] This same comment had something very interesting to say on what might be termed the starting point of an evaluation. "A strongly shared ethic" was essential.[130] The problem of creating such an ethic is perhaps dealt with in another response[131] listing five key areas where decisions are made about evauations. These range from the initial decisions about the evaluator's role, the data base, the salary and all the other matters set up prior to appointment, to the period after appointment when discussions are held, and a certain re-negotiation takes place concerning general approach and methodology, and the problems of access and confidentiality. This is followed by the main development phase of the evaluation when written reports are submitted, commented on and reacted to, and when certain decisions are arrived at about the evaluation, its usefulness, its fairness and accuracy, its likely outcomes. The two final stages of decision making about the evaluation in this submission involve the writing of the final report, and publication. Stage 3 in the process is regarded as crucial. This concerns interim reports of the evaluator and the general working process of the evaluator. These:

> "act as litmus paper to those involved in the project. Differences of understanding and interpretation of the evaluator's role emerge. Adverse results are considered and realization dawns of possible damage to career prospects etc. if the evaluation becomes public. And this leads to the range of possibilities you envisage."[132]

The author then rearranges these possibilities into an intriguing scheme of occurrences reordering the first three stages as follows:

"Stage I	Stage 2	Stage 3
	co-option 'one of the team'	'collusion, selection of favourable results, paper-over cracks to aid search for additional grants etc.
	co-operation independence clearly maintained evaluation continues as planned.	unbiased evaluation role
Process of evaluation methodology & reports	renegotiation this may occur easily or be the result of a breakdown or relationships and communication.	more restricted role, independence retained but results ignored
	rejection by the team, sources of information - the gatekeeper referred to by sociologists etc.	work made impossible owing to refusal to co-operate evaluation stops
		appointment of new evaluator

> Although filing systems may be poor, evidence concerning the relationship between the evaluator and the team is, I suspect, inevitably collected. Letters are written to sponsors etc. denigrating, praising, ignoring the evaluation. If relationships go seriously awry, ... the project may write its own evaluation report. The Director may consider this his job!"[133]

In another submission, the process is to an extent replicated, although it is not clear whether this was the result of a faulty evaluation, or because of the evaluation being set up on a too restricted basis. A certain Authority wanted a Maths project which it was sponsoring evaluated. Unfortunately it did not understand the nature of the maths to be evaluated, but thought perhaps that an evaluation would give the project a certain respectability. It appointed a College Lecturer to inspect the learning materials being designed by teachers

> "This was most unfortunate because materials were not the only parameters being developed, and it turned out that the ... Project operated at a higher level of material-design expertise than the evaluator.[134]

The author then goes on to state how the Project in question went on to evaluate its own work, "the only real purpose of evaluating a Project is to enable modifications and improvements to take place. Evaluation for its own sake is a profitless exercise."[135] He says that over an extended period of time, on evidence from hundreds of teachers, and thousands of children, it has used its self evaluation to introduce modifications and improvements to the programme. Two major objectives of the Project had not been attained, but had been left in, in the hope that the teachers would come around to seeing their value, and would work at what appeared to be unattainable goals.

Another evaluator[136] was invited to supervise a piece of evaluative work for another mathematics project. Although he considered the time constraints too astringent, he was forced to accept, because of the politics of the situation. He in fact worked for a research group,[137] which relied on such contracts for the payment of their overheads. He said that any recommendation on his part for non acceptance would have been greeted with scorn.

After some initial vicissitudes, the researcher was appointed and the research was completed and the report submitted on time. It was full of 'faint praise', and was returned by the sponsors for revision. This was done, unfortunately, downward, and returned even fainter praise of the project to the sponsors. Even though a whole research staff, and a key administrator agreed with the perceptions of the critique the revised report was not published, and was not circulated to interested parties. In fact it died the death. The author sums this up in the following manner:

> "We have no direct evidence whatsoever of conspiracies of whatever kind. The whole story is reminiscent of Snakes and Ladders, and I have a strong suspicion that reputations here have suffered as a consequence. In truth it was a silly exercise to undertake this evaluation at all when we did.[138]

This commentator goes on to state that in the subsequent denouement all of the reactions listed in the APM might be said to have taken place. Initial constraints build in at the outset of an evaluation can cause the research to be subsequently biassed or skewed. Here such constraints meant that the evaluation was sandwiched between the publication of the materials and the dissemination of the programme, and this was perceived as a very onerous constraint. The evaluation foresaw that it would have to criticise materials already published by the sponsors, and thereby jeopardise the dissemination it was designed to support. That the author saw as 'an exercise in futility' turned out more or less as expected, and with reactions which tallied with many of the possibilities outlined in the seven point APM schema.

4.5. Rhetorical acknowledgement divorced from political action

This section instances fact and shows how "rhetorical acceptance" is appraised. It also intimates some considerations and "best panaceas" towards its avoidance.

4.5.1. General opinions at CC3 concerning rhetorical acknowledgement

The fact that administrators, policy makers and others concerned in the decision making process were paying very little attention to evaluation reports was a matter of serious concern to the evaluators in attendance at CC3. Malcolm Parlett concurs:

> "Yes. That I recognise. That I think I would say is the most common of these courses that I have seen so far as a kind of obstruction. 'We thank you very much for your report. Yes, we will certainly distribute it and we will certainly give it our

> attention! But six months or a year later you say: 'Look, no effect'. This has happened to me, yes!"[139]

Many would agree with Robert Stake that the object of evaluative research should be to inform the decision making deliberations with insights of a kind that would eliminate understanding and lead to more enlightened judgements.

> "The preferable criterion of valid policy research is an indication that administrator and constituent understandings have improved. It is not appropriate to assume that validity depends on getting people to act on matters in a more rational way, i.e. as the researcher might have them act. Educators, consultants and even researchers may properly advocate rationality, but it is wrong for them to build into the success criteria for their research an acceptance by their audiences of what they consider to be the rational course of action. Such a criterion panders to epistomological assumptions and methodological biases. Improved audience comprehension is the preferable criterion."[140]

Yet Stake himself recounted how efforts on his part to achieve this objective met with indifferent success.

One of the projects selected for scrutiny at CC3 was a study undertaken by a team of researchers under the co-regis of Robert Stake and Jack A. Easley, at the University of Illinois. This was a collection of Case Studies in Science Education, field observations of science teaching and learning in American public schools during the school year 1976-1977.[141] Eleven high schools and their feeder schools across the United States were involved in the study completed over a period of eighteen months. The objective of the inquiry was to provide the National Science Foundation NSF, the relevant policy making body, with a report on the current status of pre-college science education.

Much of the Congressional debate on the subject of this research became dispersed when a key congressional figure failed to get re-elected. The report was of no further interest as the attention of

congress was moved on to other things. The issue for the project then became one of how to interest the NSF in the study once the situation had changed.

The question of individuals or bodies sponsoring research being 'taken out' of the scene was not an unfamiliar one to conference members. Jenkins and North[142] contributed a paper to CC3 recording how a piece of research on Comprehensive Education sponsored by a Labour Secretary for Education had to have its purposes stage managed for a continuance that would be acceptable to a newly elected Conservative Government. Adelman recorded that his own careful documentation of student intake of Colleges of Education would have had no purpose or impact if the same Conservative Government had carried out its threat to close the colleges once it came into power.[143]

But the question of lack of interest in evaluation reports was a wider and more pervasive phenomenon, to an extent transcending such incidentals as mutations in the political stands of the sponsoring or promoting bodies.

In a paper presented to the Conference by Tom Fox; Robert C. Adringa[144] listed the major factors influencing Federal Education Legislation. Personal judgement and values of a close body of Congressmen and staff, and strong views of respected and trusted friends rated highly on the list of eleven factors while policy research studies and reports and programme evaluation studies rated ninth and eleventh respectively on a scale indicating a degree of influence on Congressmen's decisions. This reflected a general feeling of lack of public interest in evaluation reports noted at the Conference. Robert Stake put the dilemma in the recorded response to APM taken at the Siminar in the CIRCLE.[145] Agreeing that them reports is a form of rhetorical acceptance divorced from any action he described a Cooperative Program of the General College (CPGC) evaluation

he had on the campus of the University of Minnesota.[146] Much had been expected of the evaluation's more personal approach to the problem it was to visit on the campus. It was hoped to be a proto-type for similar interventions in that situation.

The three-man evaluation team found that a lot was being expected in CEP of short term people whose influence could not be extended over time as they would not be around for more than one year. It would have been Stake thought, a shame to keep them down for longer on the salaries that they were getting. He felt that the evaluation should focus on this issue, leaving aside some other less charitable but less damaging concerns. The report however was greeted by a somewhat deafening silence. Stake remarked:

> "I never heard from them again. I wrote a couple of times to find out if anything had been done, if others in the College had used the method (of evaluation), if they might not have some suggestions for improvement of our own work. But nothing happened."[147]

A history of rejected or lukewarmly received outcomes was what Jenkins described as one of the unexpected outcomes of the CC3.

> "It had been assumed otherwise. After all ethnographic evaluation perceived itself as offering rich readable reports, with close-up descriptions and intelligent analysis; the 'insights of illumination' would enrich debate, make programmes more widely accessible, and point issues, even if refraining from crude recommendations. What went wrong?[148]

Some evaluators tended to think that there were cultural divides consigning evaluators within their discipline unable to reach policy makers used to a more practically directed form of discourse. What was needed was a systematic shakeout of both camps.

> "Policy makers are a wild and wooly lot - some are elected officials (more precisely, their staffs) some are upper and middle-level bureaucrats, some are floating impressarios of public power (e.g. board directors), some are bloated entrepreneurs of

> professional IQ (us) All are flaky but I think I would rather address the first two and stick pins in the latter two."[149]

Mac Donald agrees:

> "The possibility of rhetorical acceptance is made easier because of the privacy of the encounter between the evaluator and the people for whom he is writing his report.[150]

Parlett would not be so severe in his judgement about the finality of such apparent neglect. He feels that evaluators may be a little hard on themselves here:

> "People sometimes years afterwards say "Well, it was very important because you changed the thinking around the place."[151]

4.5.2. Rhetorical acceptance and its avoidance: the problem of evaluation relevance to policy and decision making: Robert Stake

At an informal small group session[152] chat that he gave to some interested CC3 participants Stake elaborated this into a discussion on the nature of policy related discourse, explaining in greater detail the distinction which he had used in his address between 'propositional' policy and ineffable policy. The former view represents explicit statements defining ends and means thereto. The latter is more concerned with the particular meaning of the day to day events as known and experienced by the people who take part in them.

Making a case for naturalistic enquiry in his paper presented to CC3 entitled The Validity of Policy Research[153] Stake shows how different evaluative expectations might level different forms of discourse at the process of deliberation. Robust anticipations generate "propositional" policy whereas weak anticipations generate flexible or "ineffable" policy.[154] On the belief that naturalistic inquiry is directed towards ineffable rather than propositional policy Stake would feel that

evaluators should not be over worried about whether or not people read reports. The business of evaluators is to write the best reports possible. After that it is up to the audience.

> 'It seems that we should not be greatly influenced by the evidence that people are not reading our reports, are not taking bold deliberate action, or are not writing subsequent doctrine. Rather we should be saying to ourselves what we do see is the best illumination, the best coverage of what we see going on.[155]

The judgement if not begging all sorts of questions about the very nature of evaluative discourse does raise another serious problem. Given that there might not be a rule of thumb proposition in policy to which evaluation might be thought to provide information, aiding and speeding up the deliberative process; what might the nature of the information which would aid positively discussions in policy of an ineffable nature?

4.5.3. Selecting issues for comment: the notion of "mutual enhancement" for evaluator and evaluated, a panacea for rhetorical acknowoedgement?

Stake was not unsympathetic to a validating or endorsing role for evaluation especially at the beginnings of projects and felt there was good ground for facilitating or adversary roles, "playful aggression", especially in the short term. He felt that evaluative roles develop for personality reasons and for other reasons that are to be expected.[156] Stake felt however that in the long term there should be expectations of a more far reaching and definite kind. Reflecting on his own experience in the few evaluations he had conducted he found that something that went on in him during the evaluation had to do with personal enhancement. This involves him in reviewing issues in the light of certain personal expectations that arose from his study. Some criticisms are preempted, and some are allowed according as inclusion might enhance the evaluator in his own eyes or in the eyes of others.

> "There will be times when there is a move toward a particular issue, thinking that it is an important one, thinking that it is a confrontation, thinking it is a challenge to that project. But also there is a realization that 'This is a safe criticism for me to make. It enhances my status as an evaluator to be engaging in this particular issue.' It may be no more true than another one that I am ignoring, but it reflects well on me as an evaluator to be raising this particular issue, this is why I choose it.
>
> There will be other times that I see myself sympathetic to the programme and to be a facilitator in a certain set of issues, again that might not be actively complimentary to the staff, but still I would be looking for that accommodation that leaves the project with the maximum leverage, the best opportunity to move on from there.[157]

The matter of overall concern for the project being evaluated was deemed essential to another seminar participant, particularly if individually critical matters were thought necessary to bring to notice.[158] Stake would agree that the process of getting the audience to see issues with which it should be concerned as crucial to the whole operation of the evaluation.

> "It helps to be able to negotiate the audiences towards those issues that can be dealt with both by oral and written reports. The more that you feel you have an obligation from your profession or whatever to get everything in writing, so that all can share it, the less likely you are to get this negotiation going, moving the project's thinking into areas that are perceived as important. This ethic of getting it down, an ethic which Barry MacDonald sometimes espouses, can have bad effects for the evaluation, we have a lot of trouble with that kind of evaluative contribution."[159]

Royce Sadler contributed an item from his own Australian experience.

> "I had a somewhat similar experience to that in a project I was working on, and with external evaluators. They came in and they said 'we can see this difficulty' and they said 'how can we best represent this difficulty so that it will be solved.[160]

Judy Dawson felt that one of the critical factors in the self interested choices of evaluators was that it was sometimes necessary to compromise judgements which might be professionally correct with others premised on the need for the evaluator to continue with the research.[161] Stake felt that this bore on the consideration of the social role of the evaluator in the context of the dilemmas in the list. He himself had not experienced much that had been distressing, but there was often little evidence in the follow up work that there was sufficient use made of the evaluation to justify the energy and anguish and the apprehension that had gone into it.

4.5.4. Negotiation of role as a panacea for rhetorical acceptance

The case of John Elliott's Cambridge Accountability Project[162] has been cited in a different context before. It may be appropriate to review the incident quoted previously with reference to the emphasis to be placed on the evaluation's addressing itself seriously to issues of vital concern to the project. In this instance a form of direct confrontation was involved which may clarify in detail some of the points just discussed. 'Ineffable' policy deliberation has a poetic ring to it, which in its ephemeral sense would not be line of evaluative discourse Elliott might support. Yet its introduction at this point could illustrate some of the points Stake was making very clearly.

To recall therefore, Elliott reported at CC3 on a project which was exploring the formulation and communication of School policy in a number of LEA's in Southeast England. Characterised as 'action research' the project was attempting to develop methods of self reporting as an alternative to national monitoring. The project took the view that policy making was the concern of each teacher and of each school, not simply the task of administrators or elected officials.

Elliott's team of six part-time evaluators, began their investigations in schools with previous evaluative experience. Beginning with his own assigned school Elliott examined the systems of communication of policy vis a vis, staff, parents, children. He found that the staff's communication in particular with parents was excellent, ('superb'). Moving to the Board of Governors Elliott was surprised by the fact that the items coming up for decision at the formal meetings of the Board were rather trivial. There was an 'informal' meeting of Governors where details of policy were discussed but at which no decisions were taken.

Elliott decided to make the underlying anomoly a principal focus of his report. Queried[163] at CC3 he gave a full account of his intended critique as to whether the substance of his appraisal would be published Elliott replied affirmatively.[164] The crux of the situation was that political intervention had bypassed the Local Education Authority, which was implementing the (Labour) Comprehensivation policy. And Elliott's report would expose that undermining political intervention.

It would seem then that the achievement of effective critical discourse at all levels of participation in the evaluation could well be the effective antidote to "faint praise" rhetorical acceptance. Cold fish appraisals may be likely to receive a welcome in kind.

4.6. The possibility of the project building up a dossier of evidence against an evaluator in order to be in a position to conduct a successful counter denunciation

The conference examined the UNCAL experience in this context. Some UNCAL heartsearchings in the light of the Glamorgan preemptive counter-denunciation are given by way of example.

4.6.1. UNCAL's "vocabulary of action" and "portrayals": general considerations in the wake of their denunciation.

In his UNCAL submission to CC3 Barry MacDonald spoke about a certain procedure adopted by the evaluation which he called "matching the vocabulary of action." The question arose, during the course of the discussion, whether this usage could be described as genuine experiment in evaluation, or whether it was derived from a wrongly conceived presumption and should not have been attempted.

The 'vocabulary of action', a derived phrase[165] could be defined "as a form of discourse from which judgements and decisions and action flow." In UNCAL 'speak' the 'vocabulary of action' is distinguished from officialese which is public and for the record, and usually takes the form of justificatory rhetoric for decisions already made.

The 'vocabulary of action' signifies emic language such as civil servants use in speaking with each other informally and privately when decisions of a formal or public nature are on the table. Thus it can be regarded as surrepticious to the overt proceedings of a meeting and is not minuted for public or other consumption. It generally takes the form of voluntary swapping of information to which individuals or groups

present might be privy or imparting it informally in 'asides' during the more ritualistic proceedings of meetings. The vocabulary of action was described by Jenkins in the following manner:

> "quite a lot of the informal discussion (at Programme Committee Meetings) was around notions of what peoples' past history was like, whether they are to be trusted or not to succeed or something. Much of this was held at the gossip level, like "what do we know about Joe... is he a sound man?"[167]

Jenkins felt that this form of talk, gossip more than scandal or calumny, was felt to be legitimate, even necessary. On it, as much as on what was formally on the table, the Committee members depended for information on to arrive at their decisions. Also, because it was under the counter, so to speak, and 'between these four walls', it would not be publicised as important information, and above all would not appear in print. When the water settled over a meeting, this verbal archaeology would disappear without trace. It was clearly viewed as legitimate as well as confidential information. The anonymity of the public service would be maintained in the discretionary silence of the public record, until in a similar 'closed' situation the information would be needed again.

Part of the understanding of this form of communication is that it is privy parlance, that individuals 'without the fold' who do not participate in the proceedings being transacted, are not acquainted of what transpires. It is precious knowledge, a special usage, unminted and uncoined for public exchange.

One of UNCAL's tasks as it saw it, was to bring this form of discourse to the Committee's notice, to mirror to it its own covert proceedings. This UNCAL did first in the form of a playlet and report at

the beginning of the evaluation. But it also endeavoured to "match the vocabulary of action" in its reports to the Committee, in personal portrayals, gossipy and informal depictions of project team members. Both these attempts to "match the vocabulary of action" won massive disapproval from the Committee.

Nevertheless, perhaps Elliot[168] and Becker[169] were correct in their assertion that the area of private discourse is an extremely delicate one and does not brook untoward invasions. On this view UNCAL might have seemed injudicious in inviting a retaliatory response by stamping on sensitive areas almost from the outset, and continuing its all too unfruitful intrusions throughout the evaluation.

Jenkins' view was that the problem was not with the model of evaluation being used, but with the cultural intrusiveness which it implied.[170]

4.6.2. The South Glamorgan denunciation: a breakdown in democratic evaluation appraised

Making the point for case study portrayals MacDonald in a paper on the subject[171] points to the immediacy of this form of reportage and to its usefulness in given an "internal view" to bodies concerned with the enterprise or activity being evaluated. However he notes Programme Committee's dissatisfaction with 'portrayals' and UNCAL's defence of their continued use by some members of the evaluation team.[172] He adds some reservations on the use of the technique based on the damaging effects of a TV education programme on a certain individual publicly portrayed in a teaching situation.[173]

Jenkins' portrayals of project personalities, it is noted, were particularly objected to. But since reports were being previously negotiated with projects and passed on to Committee with project

approval, no serious objection in principle could prevail on the UNCAL director to remove them. On one occasion however a project team took strong exception to Jenkins' report, and conducted an effective counter denunciation bypassing the UNCAL procedures and going instead to the directorate of the Programme which endorsed the rejection.[174]

As a reaction this episode was referred to by Jenkins in CC3.[175] He claimed that the project people in question had at least been given the opportunity to see what UNCAL had written about them. Committee had received other reports about this undertaking in South Glamorgan which were even more condemnatory. In giving its portrayal UNCAL had at least attempted to be objective about what was commonly held to have been a 'failed' project.

Nevertheless the incident raises serious questions about this form of reportage, about whether in the circumstances it were useful to depict the work and people involved in the project in the way that had been done, and about why the use of the vocabulary of action was so counter productive all through the UNCAL evaluation.

The original version of the report, was strongly objected to by the project team and a modified version with the offending parts, notably the personal portrayals, excised, and with the vocabulary somewhat muted was submitted to Programme Committee.[176]

4.6.3. Rending the heartstrings, the anatomy of a failed "democratic evaluation"

Outlines of Jenkins' controversial report on the South Glamorgan Remedial Reading Project, and of Consultant Peter Young's "counter denunciation" have been given above. (3.4.5.)[177]

An account that appears at least in part to have been based on South Glamorgan and typified as "standing somewhere between anonymisation and imaginative fiction" is given in MacDonalds' UNCAL Final Report.[178] It gives the fictitious history of a project, set in North Antrim and recounts how certain disparities between the design and implementation of that project led to a breakdown. It then gives portrayals of the persons or elements responsible for the failure, and thirdly it depicts the lessons to be learnt from the failure.

The imaginative basis for the account, it is said, is a single real life project, and the object of the study is "to chart those implications that attach themselves to failure or partial success." McDonald affirms that the purpose of such reports should be "an attempt to alert the Committee to likely issues, possible lines of argument, and give a certain amount of contextual information." He considers that his report should enter on issues which in his judgement "might interest the Committee."

In view of Committee displeasure with portraiture it is over optimistic to assume that these aspects might have interested its members? Perhaps the use of portrayals of persons rather demonstrates a judgement on what should interest them on the assumption that they might not do so.

The use of portraiture was the subject of an ongoing dialogue between UNCAL and Committee.[180] A paper presented to that body discusses the use of information concerning individuals' performance in making decisions about programmes for funding.[181] Commenting on the significance of UNCAL's departure in giving such information, MacDonald notes that the portrayals have "quite properly" caused concern within UNCAL and also within Programme Committee. He notes the "dangers and pitfalls" of these accounts.

i) Interpretive accounts of people's actions depend on frameworks of analysis and theories of human motivation which are not always clear to the observed. UNCAL observers are more likely to command these frameworks than those who are portrayed, who may be thus disadvantaged in negotiation.
ii) Many people find it difficult or unpleasant to negotiate a self-image, and may defer to UNCAL out of diffidence or embarassment.
iii) UNCAL may be impelled by negotiation away from clear statements towards innuendo.
iv) UNCAL reporters could be seduced by the "journalism of exposure" into sensational accounts which are not disciplined by a strict criterion of relevance to decisions. Seduction may be at the level of style or content.
v) The procedure of negotiation is not a guarantee of fair play. The skills of bargaining are neither evenly distributed nor equally employed."[182]

The real strength of the UNCAL portrayal accounts was that they had been negotiated with project personnel. Although the public nature of this process was a 'sticking point' with committee MacDonald was able to forcibly argue for the retention of portrayals on that very basis.

The UNCAL angst at this breach of procedure is evident in a paper written by Kemmis after the event.[183] The "authenticity" of the report was to be achieved through negotiation of its contents with the project concerned. Referring to the trenchant riposte directed to Hooper (NDPCAL director) by two members of the project team, Kemmis claims that the procedure was effectively blocked by the independent action of these individuals in having direct recourse to the director. Because of this breach the claim of 'libel' can be substantiated in that the project in Jenkins words has chosen "not to negotiate the report, but to negotiate about it."[184] The author of the denunciation has thus given himself cause for contemptuous dismissal of the report and of its author.

In fact Tawney never used "portrayals" of persons, and the other two UNCAL evaluators MacDonald and Kemmis "could be said to variously stand at intermediate points on a scale polarised by Tawney and Jenkins."[185] Perhaps the conviction that personal characteristics were "significant determinants of effects" was not as pervasive as might have been thought given the lengths UNCAL was prepared to go to defend their use. Or perhaps different settings of their use differently nuanced the effects of personalities on the success or failure of projects. A successful project may be more accepting of uncomplimentary personal portrayals, and of negative criticism, than an unsuccessful one. NUU's CAMOL reacted very differently to South Glamorgan when faced with 'portrayals.'

Jenkins' avowed objective in the first versions of his report, the actual object of denunciation, was to trace the "ruin" of the project, after the manner of dramatic tragedy back to flaws of character and deeds. This Hooper also seems to have done.[186]

Kemmis gives no indication at all as to where "elsewhere" UNCAL believed the roots of the Glamorgan difficulty may have lain. But a perusal of the documentation would seem to indicate that the technical design was so obviously flawed[187] that it should never have been allowed to get to the planning stage. It should have been weeded "out" at "first selection". The responsibility for its inclusion, apparently against all the evidence, was entirely Hooper's.[188] He seemed to have allowed an inately flawed project to be wished on the NDP by two ebullient and over enthusiastic consultants. Did Jenkins patently fail to expose the real villain, rounding instead on his albeit willing victims? Or was the procedure for technical analysis at the early "weeding out stages" too weak?[189]

Once a decision to conduct a counter riposte had been taken, the facts of the situation no longer mattered as the litigant could only, by the nature of his case, put a slanderous construction on everything that had been said about him. And that inevitably would have put paid to every rational purpose upon which evaluation was entered. It is an eventuality which practitioners of evaluation at best can avoid. About this issue Mac Donald says:

> "Most of the growing literature on case study and portrayal in evaluation stresses its potential for yielding better understandings of education. The SAFARI portrayals are certainly undertaken with this hope in mind and in this spirit. But as evaluators we need to bear in mind that portrayals created in this spirit may not always be received in it.[190]

And there's the rub. The ritual counter denunciation perhaps best illustrates the method's essential weakness. Portrayal provides a picture of the project as seen through the eyes of the evaluator. In providing it the evaluation product may be creating problems. Not taking into account the possible reactions of individuals concerned in the portrayal, it may incur a counter attack which in effect defeats the whole purpose of what it was attempting in the first place.

The matter goes deeper than 'ritual' discomfiture at a miscalculated reaction. Perhaps Jenkins is right in thinking he could have made the product stick if his portrayal had been processed in the usual way. Perhaps the 'real' truth would 'out' in negotiation. Nevertheless to fully and publicly launch a report which would have <u>classified</u> certain individuals as <u>failures</u> can have invalidated the evaluation qua evaluation, turning it into a perceived, and perceptively visible degradation exercise, a form of social annihilation which, whatever its intended merits, may have misappropriated in fact the evaluation's own stated purpose by failing to isolate the nature and true cause of the failure.

4.7. The possibility of using human sensitivities in social situations as instruments of social control over the evaluator (ie manipulating the sensitivity of other people rhetorically by stirring up feeling against the evaluator)[191]

This section cites examples of the way human sensitivity can be used sometimes manipulatively and openly sometimes subtly and unconsciously as instruments of human control over the evaluator and his product.

4.7.1. Parlett and Walkers' experiences

Malcolm Parlett recorded an example from his experience of the use of human sensitivity as an instrument of social control over the evaluator, making him tend to be less objective in his representation than he would wish. He was at the time of CC3 evaluating a project involving the use of Federal Funds to promote positive discrimination in favour of the black minority.[192] He felt that if the report came out unfavourable to the project, this would be interpreted as showing lack of favour to the minority in question, and he felt that he would be moving against fairly strong currents of opinion if he voiced criticism.[193] Luckily the programme was a good one, but very expensive all the same and the way that he felt the pressure was in a lack of inclination to go into that area of expense in any great detail.

The problem was that for what it actually achieved on the ground, the cost of the project was enormous. Parlett was going to have to invite Government officials, and ultimately Congress people to cut minority programmes, as a result the "whole force" disapproval of the black community would come out against him.

There would definitely seem to have been human sensitivities about here. But they do not seem to have been used explicitly against the evaluator. They were there though in the wider context of which the evaluation formed a part. And they could subtly influence the evaluator and his project.

In dealing with administrators' views on schools the subject of his current research, Rob Walker showed how he was under similar constraints of human sensitivity. He said that he was being told "no you cannot use that", or "the heads cannot cope with this", or "this would destroy my relationship with X or Y."[194] Thus the very sensitivity of the relationships between educational administrators and advisors on the one hand and their clients on the other were the occasions of much embarassment to the informants with whom Walker was working and he had to be sensitive to these.

4.7.2. The Sensitivities of dying institutions: Clem Adelman's Experience on TCEE.

Adelman was aware that the self study which he had initiated was causing acute anxiety among certain persons in one of the Colleges he was investigating.[195]

He felt that the reporting of public speeches at induction ceremonies, being public occasions and to an extent for the record, should be something which he could record and publish with impunity.

But one of the persons whose induction speech he recorded took serious exception to her words being printed, and to their being circulated internally among staff members. Being threatened with libel on this occasion Adelman enquired what might be behind the apparent outburst.

> "And it turned out her appointment within the College had been highly contested. She was a feminist and felt that she was the only senior person there who was a lady. And she felt that the report had undermined her position and put her into some sort of position of jeopardy and ridicule among the staff of the College, especially those who were antagonistic to her."[196]

Adelman came to the conclusions that releasing the documents he was compiling for general consumption in the Colleges was going to be very problematic.[197] His solution was to set up committees to review self study documents in each of the Colleges. These he found reflected different attitudes and structural arrangements within each of the Colleges themselves.[198]

Adelman did not report to the Steering Committee on Colleges Committee discussions or on the content of his reports to them for reasons discussions or on the content of his reports to them for reasons of his own. Conducting a rundown of Committe members, all of whom had "vested interests" in some or other of the Colleges, or had other wickets to defend (DES, HMI), Adelman concluded:

> "The three Colleges' representatives in particular did their damndest to preclude any attribution of lack of care, or any inference that could be drawn from our document that the Colleges were not doing a good job. The general tenor of the discussion was to avoid all discussion of sensitive issues.[199]

This had not been Adelman's expectation from the start when he had been guaranteed "frank discussion and consultation" but then, he had also been told that the Colleges staffs would be "prepared" for self study an assertion which turned out to be largely inappropriate. So he was not surprised.

Adelman became frustrated that the Steering Committee set up for that very purpose, would not study the methodological issues which he felt the self study entailed. In a "fit of pique"[200] he wrote a paper on the "Origins of the College Curriculum" roundly condemnatory of staffs and implying moribundity within the institutions.

> I was garfinkling[201] them in that sense pushing them to the limits of their tolerance, I wanted to see whether they would acknowledge on that Steering Committee their own vested interests. And instead the muck, as it were, came pouring back on me . . . saying you are not keeping to your original brief, we did not ask you to do that, where is our money's worth."[202]

What ensued regarding Adelman's contract, is recorded above.[203] Some of the discussion at CC3 concerning research policy has also previously been recounted.[204]

The CC3 discussion on Adelman's contract issue revealed some interesting sidelights on the sensitivities of the situation and on Adelman's attempts to cope with them. The HMI's along with people on the Colleges would have favoured the self study research, and it was probably under their influence that the 'original brief' had been altered to favour a unitary self-study. The DES would have taken a more conservative view of the research design, and were probably more responsible for aspects of it which emphasised the study of student intake, curriculum and assessment. They would have financed and sponsored and claimed the research as their own.

Thus the evaluator in taking the members of Committee to task for what he thought was over-protectiveness and over-defensiveness of their own situations and institutions, became victim-in-vituperation of a powerful subset in the situation, the existence of which he could not have been aware of beforehand. The failure to deliver on the self study suddenly became, as a result of his attack, not a matter of methodologo-

cal policy for which he held the Committee responsible, but a procedural matter for which the Committee held him accountable. The power play behind this neat table-turn was not lost on Adelman. Commenting on the two "missing" sections of the "original" brief he said:

> "It wasn't that they were missing, but that they were found. They were found by me. Other people (on the Committee) already had that knowledge."[205]

Hence to accommodate the new situation, the perfectly legal contract (P4 form) which he had signed became superceded by a new contract which he had not signed, and which nobody saw fit to show him.[206]

The sensitivities of the situation were exacerbated by the official DES attitude to the Colleges. It was based, as Adelman later found out, on actual ignorance of what the Colleges were about and on fundamental misunderstandings of what the full impact of their function educationally and socially was.[207]

The attitude was dismissive, hostile and inimical, signalling closures.[208] On the accession of the Conservative Government with its calls for College shutdowns at the ouset of the research, the self study brief suddenly became a hot potato. Designed as a 'stable state' self-inquiry to help Colleges through a period of diversification in the wake of the James Report, the evaluation now took the form of a potentially self inflicted scourge, revealing Colleges' own inadequacies down the line to the chop of closure. As Adelman ruefully pointed out, the evaluation tradition, more concerned with developing programmes, had no procedural experience in coping with "dying institutions" and illuminative self study in particular could hardly rate as an up and coming starter.[209] In the situation the DES representatives on the Steering Committee were seeking for just such self damaging revelations. "Count us in, we're your friends" they said[210] baring one might assume wolfish smiles.

Adelman:

> "If we had broken confidentiality, if I'd had not released bland, very very trivial reports to the Steering Committee for about the first eighteen months; that is during the time, the unsettled period before the final announcements of which Colleges were to close, then I think that the Colleges might have felt that the evalaution was in fact a self infliction because it would have indicated or at least it would have shown that they were as it were doing an inadequate job."[211]

Adelman himself opted, ("I made a value judgement") not merely for the lest sensitive of the three courses open to him in the new tripartite "original" brief, he chose the one which he thought would dispel official ignorance[212] of what the social and educational function of the Colleges was.

In the first instance a perfectly bland record of a speech publicly delivered, was treated as libellous by the person who gave it because of feminist associations connected with her seniority. This and other indications convinced the TCEE evaluator of the inopportuneness of the open-type self study he had anticipated doing in accordance with his own perceptions of his brief. He reorganised the self study in a way that was not uniformly or adequately structured among the Three Colleges so that it became as a study, whatever its other merits, ultimately ineffectual as regards the Final Product of the Research.

Secondly, in a Steering Committee sitting at cross purposes to each other, he uncovered subsets of management inadequacies and defensiveness so potentially explosive and damaging to himself that he accepted the illegalities of a contract-manipulation and brief-modification in the interests of saving official "face" and of moving the evaluation onto less damaging, perhaps more fruitful areas.

Thirdly finding the original study potentially self destructive of the institutions it was designed to help, he moved in on areas of official ignorance as an advocate of the Colleges, producing evidence to confound the "prosecution" and to strengthen and revitalise the case for the defending Colleges.

The resulting bureaucratic-style evaluation product for bureaucrats, said little at all about the function, potential or actual, of evaluative self-study in dying institutions, or about the kinds of structures which could make such study effective in circumstances of failing establishments.

4.8. The possibility of the rival product. (An internal evaluation is developed as a counter thrust to the independent one).

This section shows how conflicting interpretations of how a project should be evaluated and reported on, involve 'rival' products which upstage the 'official' reportage.

4.8.1. Some considerations on the question of the 'rival' product arising in the context of CC3 discussions

Barry MacDonald in an APM related taped interview of CC3 recorded

> "The possibility of a 'rival' product was something very prevalent in the UNCAL evaluation. It was easy for those who did not like the evaluation to bring in the HMI's as an alternative evaluation system. And this possibility is one of the reasons why evaluators must negotiate conditions for their evaluation which are acceptable to them. They must be careful to negotiate an acceptable role for themselves. The possibility of the rival product is a very serious threat. It is especially easy for certain power groups to get alternatives."[213]

The role of the NDPCAL Director in providing his own evaluation, was accepted as part of the structure. But it appeared that the Director's evaluation report seemed to provide a kind of substitute for

the independent evaluation and in a sense, combined with independent contributions from HMI's which MacDonald mentions above, became an effective rival to UNCAL's products as far as the provision of products was concerned.

That Committee would 'rubber stamp' the director's evaluation reports and adopt his recommendations unchallenged was something which MacDonald's evaluation strategy was designed to avoid.[214] He wanted Committee to be well informed, and to be able to challenge the director's decision when such seemed opportune.

This aspect of UNCAL, and the status its prodcuts ought to have had received much discussion at CC3, and needs to be reported here as providing an understanding of how in certain circumstances 'rival' products can occur.

Jenkins in the discussion, identified the step funding procedure. UNCAL, the Financial Evaluator, two Independent Assessors, intermediaries between the NDPCAL the Projects, the Directorate and the Project Team, all met on the project site. The UNCAL report, with the project's response, and the financial evaluation all received "a relatively formal grilling."[215]

The power to recommend was clearly with the director, "that was very firmly built in."[216] Nonetheless there was a pattern of influence coming from the site meeting, to which in large part UNCAL had contributed.

According to MacDonald however, it had been one of the aspirations of UNCAL to enable Committee through the medium of its reports, "to evaluate the directorate's recommendations and its representations of those projects." He thus had originally seen the Committee as having a more formative influence on proceedings than "equivalently rubber-stamping" the recommendations of the director.217

Reflecting on this formative requirement, which had not been achieved in this event, he found the nature of these reports themselves in retrospect to be "deterministic, ... calling for certain kinds of decision making structures."[218] He would characterise these structures as deliberative in the real sense, influencing "the distribution of judgements that matter, from which action flows."[219]

By "distribution of judgements" MacDonald seems to imply that, ideally, in the discussion and debate about projects, members of the Committee should offer differing perspectives on the reports, which would enable more nuanced understanding and consequently better overall judgments about the projects, judgements which would reflect not only the Committee's and the directorate's but also the projects' points of view.[220]

That this did not happen in practice he puts down to the fact that certain "logical implications"[221] emanating from the evaluation products had not been seen initially, and had not been allowed for. To properly scrutinise the reports more time and work and a more workshop orientation to the discussions would have been required than that which the Programme Committee structure afforded.[222]

There can be no doubt that MacDonald had anticipated some difficulty with the Programme Committee.[223] He did not see at the time of setting up the evaluation that the Committee as constituted was intrinsically unsuitable to receive the kind of reports which the evaluation was intending to produce in consultation with the projects. This oversight only became clear as the implications of the reports became apparent. They needed a less managerial, less manipulative or bureaucratic discussion, a less focussed or close up decision making situation, rather a more open, divergent debate-focussed forum, aimed at understanding all of the relevant issues before entering on a discussion

of recommendations and a formal decision making discourse.[224] MacDonald was convinced that a better consideration of the projects "their situations and their efforts" would have emanated from this latter form of discourse.

Thus MacDonald would not agree with Walker's supposition that it was sufficient that the evauation in fact influenced the directorate's recommendations,and through them the Committee's decisions

He had wanted to 'convert' the Programme Committee to a new 'responsive' way of arriving at decisions, one which would involve them in a limited form of communication with the projects through sharing the insights of the UNCAL evaluation team.[225]

What transpired, however, was that the Committee did not digest and use the UNCAL reports at all. This frustrated the original intention. It ensured a regression back to what he had originally been trying to avoid. The Committee in fact refused the offer to enter into an understanding of the projects, "their situations their efforts", as presented by the evaluation, and reverted to the private discourse of the Civil Service version 'vocabulary of action' on the one hand, and the formal anonymity of succint reportage and recommendatory notices on the other.[226]

The Committee therefore did not become the type of responsive forum which he had originally intended, and which the reports of UNCAL would best have served.[227] Many of its members rejected the reports out of hand as "bad" and "inappropriate" to the consensus of their needs. The majority favoured this attitude rather than suffer some of the severe and potentially corrosive challenges acceptance of the reports might pose to their own self image and habitual modes of operation. MacDonald felt that this consensus 'against' veiled a many faceted opposition to the evaluation.[228]

To a question from Fox, MacDonald replied that "a great deal" of Programme Committee's time had been spent discussing UNCAL "the interface with UNCAL" - "as much time as had been spent talking about the whole Programme collectively."[229] Thus according to him

> "There was a lot of dialogue across that interface. But there was tremendous hostility on the part of Programme Committee to what we were doing".[230]

In reply to further questions MacDonald went on to say that the hostility was "virtually unanimous". It had been expected that the committee would be split on some of the issues raised by the evaluation, that is "in terms of what UNCAL was doing, and the principles it was following", that there might be a debate within the Committee. But "that largely didn't happen."[231]

On the question of dialogue, so intensive and wideranging had it been, MacDonald averred, that one committee member had put it to him that UNCAL had been "the best form of inservice training in evaluation for administrators that you could ever devise". But he could not be sure about the practical outcome, whether this was achieved in fact.[232]

MacDonald asserted that the evaluation had produced a total of twenty eight such generalised findings, and Committee had been well satisified with this aspect of the work. "They did generally think that that was a pretty splendid piece of work". UNCAL itself had been not nearly so well pleased.[234] Meeting Committee expectations as to the content of the reports, might not have been sufficient cause for the degree of hostility which arose between UNCAL and the Programme Committee. Concluded Lou Smith:

> "So the hostility probably was coming from other things that you were doing, not from the substance of the reports"?
> "I think so" (MacDonald)[235]

The 'rival' UNCAL products were not deliberately contrived as 'rival' products in the classic sense. They were not developed as a counter thrust from inside a project to the independent evalaution findings. They were rather side-alongs, significant but parallel accounts either from official of from independent but interested sources that summarised, amplified or gave a different perspectives to the UNCAL accounts. That they were also used as alternatives, thus becoming rival accounts, was due to other factors.

By way of contrast Malcolm Parlett at CC3[236] gave a very good example of the 'real thing'. A project which he was researching was beginning to build up information in anticipation of an unfavourable evaluation account, it seemed. Statistical information about the project which had gone to a central agency for processing and storage had been requested by the project, - apparently an uncommon occurrence.

4.9.1. Conclusion

We return to the context of the "natural history" of the research. Having formulated the APM, "confirmation" was sought from professional evaluators for the validity of its categories. Thus it was hoped that the evaluation community would at least endorse the categories as valid, and that it would relay experiences and insights to the research of such variety and diversity as to further copperfasten the APM's validity, and perhaps reveal new associated insights.

This will be the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 4 references

1. These will be referenced when quoted.

2. Cambridge III Invitations Workshop sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation

3. These will be referenced when quoted.

4. At CC3 twelve were invited from Europe and five from U.S.A. The attendance was as follows:

Convenors:

Helen Simons	University of London Institute of Education
Rob Walker	Centre for Applied Research in Education University of East Anglia.

Secretary:

Joan Mills	Centre for Applied Research in Education University of East Anglia.

Participants:

Clem Adelman	Bulmershe College of Higher Education
Tony Becher	University of Sussex
Hans Brugelmann	University of Konstanz, West Germany
Rosalind Driver	Leeds University
John Elliott	Cambridge Institute of Education
David Hamilton	University of Glasgow, Scotland
Tom Fox	University of Wisconsin-Madison, USA
David Jenkins	New University of Ulster, Coleraine Northern Ireland.
Barry MacDonald	Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia
Malcolm Parlett	Education Development Centre, Boston, Massachusetts, USA.
Patricia Thomas	The Nuffield Foundation
Louis Smith	Washington University, St. Louis, USA
Robert Stake	CIRCE, University of Illinois, USA

Observers:

Eleanor Wright	University of Liverpool

Chapter 4 references

John Prunty — Washington University, St. Louis, USA

Sean O Connor — New University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland.

5. Stenhouse, L. 1975 p.115.

6. MacDonald, B. and Parlett, M. 1973.

7. Adelman, C. Jenkins, D.R. Kemmis, S. 1976.

8. Jenkins, D.R. Simons, H. Walker, R. 1970.

9. Rob Walker CC3 Convenor. Then at Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, Norwich. Interviewed CC3 18/12/1979.

10. Spindler, G. 1970.

11. Walker, R. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.1.

12. Robert Stake, Director, Centre for Instructional Research and Curriculum Evaluation, (CIRCE) College of Education, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign. Introdued CC3 Plenary Session 3 Naturalistic Inquiry and Policy Decision MSF

13. European Community Action Programme, Transition of Young People from Education to Working and Adult Life. Prepared for the Commission of the European Community by IFAPLAN Applied Sociological Research Institute Cologne cf. Sawdon A. et.al. 1981. O Llideain, E. 1983. Lallan, J. 1983.

14. MacDonald, B. 1979.

15. Stake, R. 19/12/1979 tr. scr. p.1.

16. loc. cit. p.2.

17. ibid.

18. ibid.

19. ibid.

20. loc. cit. p.3.

21. ibid.

22. ibid.

23. interviewed 18/12/1979 cf. above ref. 9.

24. Walker, R. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. pp.2ff.

25. loc.cit. p.2.

26. ibid.

Chapter 4 references

27. Tawney, D. ex-UNCAL evaluator (MacDonald, B. 1975) taped a response (July 1979) to APM which is included here because of its relevance. cf. Tawney, D. Ed. 1976.

28. Stake, R. 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.2.

29. Tawney, D. taped response to APM, July 1979 tr. scr. p.2.

30. ibid.

31. ibid.

32. ibid.

33. ibid.

34. MacDonald, B. et al. 1977(b).

35. Tawney loc. cit. p.3.

36. Programme Committee National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning (NDPCAL).

37. Tawney, D. loc. cit. p.3.

38. ibid. p.4.

39. ibid.

40. loc. cit. p.3.

41. ibid.

42. G. Thomas Fox jr. University of Wisconsin, Madison Wisconsin. Chaired CC3 Plenary Session 6.

43. Adringa, R.C. 1979.

44. Fox, G.T. 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.1.

45. loc. cit. p.2.

46. ibid.

47. ibid.

48. loc. cit. pp.3,4.

49. loc. cit. p.3.

50. loc. cit. pp.3,4.

51. c.f. 3.3.8. Cooption/Collusion "The Logic of the Problem" also Walker, R. 18/12/1979 tr. scr. passim.

Chapter 4 references

52. Walker, R. loc. cit.

53. This judgement is discernible in Tawney's remarks, July 1979 tr. scr. passim.

54. This summary anticipates discussion on "Renegotiation" below 4,3, also cf. above 3.3.7, 3.3.8., 3.3.9., SCSP, UNCAL and the logic of the problem.

55. Stake, R. 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.1.

56. Parlett, Malcolm, then at Higher Education Study Group, Education Development Center, Newton, Mass. Interviewed at CC3 18/12/1979 cf. Parlett M. Hamilton D. 1972.

57. Parlett 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.4.

58. loc. cit. p.1.

59. ibid.

60. loc. cit. p.2.

61. ibid.

62. loc. cit. p.3.

63. Barry MacDonald, Centre for Applied Research in Education, University of East Anglia, Norwich. Chaired CC3 Plenary Sessions 1,2. Introduced CC3 Plenary Session 4 Responses to Issues at National Level S4 18/12/1979. Interviewed 19/12/1979.

64. MacDonald, B. 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.1.

65. 3.3.8.

66. MacDonald B. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. passim. cf. below 4.3.1.

67. Tawney, D. July 1979 tr.scr. p.5.

68. ibid.

69. UNCAL: Interview with Richard Hooper, Director of the National Programme at Mortimer Street 1 August 1974

70. loc. cit. tr.scr. pp.6,7.

71. Educational Evaluation of the National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning Proposal to Programme Committee October 1973.

72. MacDonald, B. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.21.

73. loc. cit. p.25.

74. ibid.

Chapter 4 references

75. Jenkins, D.R. conversation with O Connor 17/6/1985 precis p.2.

76. McDonald, B. loc. cit. p.23.

77. ibid.

78. loc. cit. p.24.

79. Tawney, D. July 1979 tr.scr. p.5 doubts if MacDonald would have accepted the NDPCAL evaluation if it did not include in its brief the operations and structure of Programme Committee. It is obvious from Committee's reaction that it would not have accepted MacDonald's evaluation had members been aware that it did. If MacDonald was keeping some cards up his sleeve in the hopes of bringing the committee round at some later stage, the playlet showed him leading with an early joker.

80. Tawney, D. loc. cit. tr.scr. p.5.

81. MacDonald, B. 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.1 "it is only when the evaluator presses on with his job and touches on the legitimacy and validity of the power groups as such that it really begins to hurt..." cf also preclude to CC3 plenary session 6 18/12/1979. tr.scr. prologue, p.4,5 19/12/1979 tr.scr. pp.1,2.

82. Tawny, D. loc. cit. tr.scr. pp.2,5.

83. loc. cit. p.2.

84. loc. cit. p.4.

85. loc. cit. p.2.

86. ibid.

87. loc. cit. p.6.

88. Clem Adelman, Bulmersche College of Education, Reading cf. Adelman 1979. Because of the wider interest of this study the title of Adelman's project has been altered from Student choice in a context of Institutional Change SCIC (Adelman 1979) to TCEE. Introduced CC3 Plenary Session 6 18/12/1979.

89. Adelman C. S.6 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.2.

90. loc. cit. p.12.

91. ibid.

92. loc. cit. p.21.

93. loc. cit. p.15.

Chapter 4 references

94. John Elliott then at Cambridge Institute of Education, Cambridge University. Introduced CC3 Plenary Session 5. Naturalistic Inquiry in Local Settings: Problems and Potential.

95. Louis Smith Graduate Institute of Education Washington University St. Louis. Introduced CC3 Introductory Plenary Session 1,2 Smith, L. (preliminary draft) Federal Policy in Action: Improving Urban Education February 1978. CC3 submission Horowitz, I.L. and Katz, J.E. 1975.

96. Elliott, J. 1981 (a.) p.21.

97. Elliott, J. 1979 p.3.

98. loc. cit. p.5.

99. loc. cit. p.6.

100. loc. cit. p.5.

101. quotes from Elliott, J. 18/12/1979 (a) passim

102. ibid. cf. Garfinkle, H. 1967.

103. Elliott, J. APM interview 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.1. cf. Elliott, J. 1980 also Elliott, J. 1981 (a) pp. 6,7 Schools Council Project Progress in Learning Science. The report was called Portrait of a Project 1980.

104. MacDonald B. 1981. p.2.

105. ibid.

106. O'Connor, S. preliminary draft APM. August 1980, p.23 commenting on participant endorsement MacDonald 19/12/79 tr.scr. p.2. "The more sophisticated people are very careful not to accept the invitation to comment because this maintains their distance and the possibility of rejecting the report."

107. Tony Becher, University of Sussex, Chaired CC3 Plenary Session 4.

108. MacDonald 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.7.

109. loc. cit. p.14.

110. loc. cit. p.13.

111. loc. cit. p.13,14.

112. loc. cit. p.13.

113. loc. cit. pp.11.12, David Jenkins chaired CC3 Plenary session 3.

114. loc. cit. p.15.

115. loc. cit. p.17.

Chapter 4 references

116. ibid.

117. Smith, L. Reflections on Cambridge III January 1980.

118. MacDonald, B. et. al. 1982. Introduction.

119. ibid. pp.10,11.

120. Walker, R. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. pp.3,4.

121. ibid.

122. Episode concerning Headmistress Ms. T. Cunningham St. Cecelias, Derry cf. Jenkins, D.R. O'Connor, S. 1980 p.47.

123. Sadler D.R. 1980.

124. ibid. p.5.

125. Walker, R. loc. cit. p.4. par. 4 "... I think she is wrong. I think I could say, this is what her teaching is like, but this is why".

126. Rudd, W.G.A. 14/7/1979 Department of Education University of Lancaster.

127. Smith, L. 1976 p.6.

128. Ormell, C. 6/7/1979 University of Reading School of Education.

129. ibid.

130. ibid.

131. Tall, G. 11/9/1979, University of Birmingham Faculty of Education.

132. loc. cit. p.1.

133. loc. cit. p.2.

134. Banks, B. 5/7/1979 Director Kent Mathematics Project Tunbridge Wells p.1.

135. ibid.

136. Cliff, P. 16/7/1979 National Foundation for Educational Research in England and Wales.

137. ibid.

138. loc. cit. p.5.

139. Parlett, M. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.3.

140. Stake R. The Validity of policy research submission CC3 Nov 1979 p.2 cf. also Jenkins, D.R. et al 1980. p.187 note 5.

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141. ibid.

142. North, R. Jenkins, D.R. CC3 submission: Renegotiating a brief: a case study surviving the demise of the political situation which generated it based on an episode that occurred during North's project: Case Studies of Schools under Stress of Change.

143. Adelman, C. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.22.

144. Adringa, R.C. 1979.

145. O'Connor, S. CIRCE's response to O'Connor Analytic Summary (AS) August 1980.
After CC3 at Stake's request O'Connor sent on to CIRCE a taped summary of APM issues. This tape together with copies of the APM framework formed the subject matter of a CIRCE seminar. Present were
Royce Sadler, University of Queensland, Australia.
Judy Dawson, University of Philadelphia
Claire Brown, Visitor to CIRCE
Robert Stake, Director CIRCE.
In August 1980 O'Connor composed an analytic summary (AS) based on a transcript of the CIRCE tape, a document which forms the basis of this section's discussion.

146. Stake, R.E. Raphael, B.J. Walters, C. Cooperative Program of the General College (CPCG) Final Report April 1979. It was hoped to set up a prototype evaluation for accreditation purposes, to be adopted by other groups within the University of Minnesota.

147. O'Connor, S. AS August, 1980 p.5.

148. Jenkins, D.R. et al. 1980b. p.172.

149. Fox, G.T. Some concerns of Tom Fox on naturalistic inquiry in evaluation (November 1979) CC3 submission p.3(5).

150. MacDonald, B., 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.2.

151. Parlett, M. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.3.

152. 18/12/1979 Stake had led the discussion the previous evening on Naturalistic Inquiry and Policy Decision and some conference members had expressed an interest in a further discussion on the policy distinctions he had raised.

153. Stake, R. Nov. 1979 b cf. 176 above cf. also Stake, R. Easley J.A. Jr. Case Studies in science education 15 vols. CIRCE University of Illinois at Urbana - Champaign and conference handout on that National Science Foundation policy related inquiry. The project (Revision 2).

154. ibid.

155. ibid.

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156. O'Connor, S. (SA) August 1980 p.4. cf. ref. 182.

157. ibid. p.6.

158. ibid. p.7.

159. ibid.

160. ibid.

161. ibid.

162. above 4.3.3. refs. 115, 117-123.

163. by Barry MacDonald, from Elliott J. plenery session 5 18/12/1979 selected transcript.

164. ibid.

165. MacDonald, B. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. pp.5,10.

167. ibid. p.6.

168. ibid. p.12.

169. ibid p.7, 8.

170. ibid. p.6.

171. MacDonald, B. 1977a.

172. ibid. pp.59-64.

173. ibid. p.66.

174. Jenkins, D.R. 2/2/1985 tr.scr. p.2.

175. MacDonald B. tr.scr. 18/12/1979 p.17.

176. Original draft (Jenkins: "1st Draft they hated") is undated. The second draft (Jenkins 'patchup') has the offending parts removed and the tone of the report softened and is dated 12/7/1976. The third draft is a more extended version with full portraits of all team members and is dated 2/9/1976. The fourth draft is similar but with portraits removed. It is referenced CALC (76)18 and was tabled at meeting of Programme Committee Autumn 1976.

177. 3.4.5. Note. The text of Peter Young's response is not on file. Its contents may be summarised from Jenkins draft letter ("not sent") to Programme Director R. Hooper dated 20/9/1976.

178. MacDonald, B. 1979 p.208 Antrim Double R Project a version of 2/9/1976 draft.

179. loc. cit. p.208.

Chapter 4 references

180. cf. above 4.4.2. esp. ref. 141.

181. MacDonald, B. position paper Nov. 1975 (cf. ref. 141 above) p.2. par.3. Also MacDonald 1977a.

182. loc. cit. p.2,3.

183. Kemmis, S. UNCAL's South Glamorgan Report: A General Brief 10/9/1976 p.3. par. 2,3.

184. loc. cit. p.4.

185. MacDonald, B. 1977a. p.59 Tawney considered MacDonald "perhaps the most aggressive", Jenkins and himself the more "collusive" of the UNCAL evaluators, cf. Tawney July 1979 tr.scr. p.4.

186. draft 2/8/1976.

187. cf. UNCAL internal memo Historical background to Remedial Reading Project - Havering DS2/01 and South Glamorgan DP2/03 noted are 42 "episodes" in the evolution of the project. Entries August 1974 and 14 October 1975 15 March 1976 contain notable danger signals. Frewin reported September 1974, need for organisation and system analysis.

188. Hooper accorded himself 15% of blame, (MacDonald 1979 p.218) yet he shouldered a great deal of the decision making responsibility of NDPCAL cf. above 4.8. ref. 260, MacDonald 1979 p.214, 218.

189. Frewin, J. Bevin, J. above 3.6.5. refs. 185-187. The technical evaluators in "Confrontation" 1/8/1974 above 3.6.5. ref. 185 tr.scr. passim were accused of creating a "disaster" situation in programme by NDPCAL Director.

190. MacDonald, B. loc. cit. p.65.

191. In retrospect the active, positive or conscious manipulation implied in the bracketed qualification is perhaps too strong. As will appear in this section the 'use' of sensitivity in question is variously and not always consciously motivated.

192. Parlett, M. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.4.

193. ibid.

194. Walker, R. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.6.

195. Adelman 18/12/1979 pp.5-8.

196. loc. cit. p.8.

197. loc. cit. 8,9.

198. loc. cit. p.10.

199. loc. cit. p.11.

Chapter 4 references

200. ibid.

201. Garfinkel H. 1967.

202. Adelman, C. loc. cit. p.11.

203. 4,3,2. refs. 103 ff.

204. ibid.

205. ibid.

206. loc. cit. p.12.

207. loc. cit. pp.13,14.

208. loc. cit. pp.15,16.

209. loc. cit. p.15.

210. ibid.

211. ibid.

212. loc. cit. pp.12,13,14.

213. MacDonald, B. 19/12/1979 tr.scr. p.2.

214. MacDonald, B. 1979 p.38.

215. loc. cit. p.9.

216. loc. cit. p.10.

217. MacDonald, B. 1979 loc. cit.

218. MacDonald, B. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.10.

219. ibid.

220. loc. cit. p.4. and passim.

221. loc. cit. p.10.

222. Walker's point ibid. p.8. (cf. ref. 240 above), also ibid. p.2. also p.16.

223. loc. cit. p.19.

224. loc. cit. p.10.

225. ibid.

226. loc. cit. p.2, p.16.

Chapter 4 references

227. ibid. and p.10.

228. loc. cit. p.19.

229. ibid.

230. ibid.

231. ibid.

232. loc. cit. p.20.

233. loc. cit. p.20.21.

234. loc. cit. p.22.

235. loc. cit. p.24.

236. Parlett, M. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.4.

CHAPTER FIVE THE QUEST FOR SUFFICIENT AND NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR APM-TYPE REACTIONS

5.1. Introduction

Having set forth the origins, meaning and definition of the Aggregate Pathology Model (APM), and having accorded it some corroborative validity from experienced professional evaluators, the argument now addresses itself to the problem of how and why APM variations of reactions might occur, and in which evaluative situations recurrences of them are likely. A methodology is suggested for identifying the sufficient and necessary conditions for the occurrence of APM type reactions, based on Concomitant Variation Method (CVM).[1]

This methodology is applied to two contrasting case studies that were subject to appraisal at the Third Cambridge Conference on Naturalistic Inquiry in Educational Evaluation in Dec. 1979[2] and three hypotheses are suggested as the sufficient and necessary conditions for the recurrence of APM type reactions. These are then taken to a wide variety of evaluation settings in order to suggest their validity.

5.1.1. The Argument so Far

The Shannon experience suggested that evaluation products may produce varied social and political reactions. These reactions may be seen as dysfunctions in that they bear no direct relationship to evaluative activity as such, in a sense cannot be predicted out of it qua evaluative activity, and seem to detract from the purpose and proper function of the evaluative role. A comparison with the experiences of other evaluators would seem to confirm that such dysfunctions occur with

some frequency. In general they focus around common problem areas, and manifest similar kinds of patterns of reaction occurring in different kinds of evaluation situations.

The nodes of similitude, the look-alike families of negative reactions to evaluation products, formed the basis for the Aggregate Pathology Model, APM, of all, or more or less all, such responses. Formally laid out as a pathology, the APM attracted some peer group validation when it was set before practiced evaluators invited to confirm it on the basis of their own experience.

So far it has been established that certain dysfunctions of role do occur in evaluations and that these are predicated on products. Moreover it may appear that such dysfunctions consistently emerge in a way that gives evaluation activity a particular social and political ambiance.

It might also be argued that these dysfunctions of reaction cluster around certain confluences of meaning, with similar response patterns occurring in sometimes differing circumstances. These nests into which negative evaluation experiences seem to batch, appear to tell not only that such experiences recurr syst matically, but what the sets are, and how their essentials might be defined in social and political terms.

What has not been established is why and how such occurrences happen, in what circumstances do they tend to recur, whether or not, and in what operational contexts, it might be possible to predict them and whether or not there are sufficient and necessary conditions for their emergence.

5.1.2. The Root of the Problem

While it might be said that the statement of genesis of the problem, the Shannon revelations,[3] had developed some insight into conditions of emergence, this was a one-off particular. It can only

refer to what occurred in that instance, and cannot support more than the most tentative generalisation concerning what might be predicted in other even similar situations. Similarly, while the APM might be considered to have found runs of similar reactions occurring in different patterns of response, the context of occurrence has not been systematically examined for every setting; neither can it be concluded from the APM alone, in what circumstances and with what operational implications certain reactions of dysfunction might be thought systematically to recur.

The expose thus far falls short of lighting on the causes behind aberrant outcomes. It has not depicted the reason why this or that rehappens, or how often, with what regularity, in what circumstances and to what effect it is made manifest.

5.1.3. The Contours of the Problem: Difficulties in Matching Like with Like

One might anticipate some difficulty in grounding the causes of a certain dissonance of response to evaluation products, not least because the roots of evaluative discourse are sufficiently 'imbedded' social truths to be contextual almost by definition. This suggests the likelihood of some difficulty in comparing one evaluation with another. There are always extenuating reasons for why this should not happen over there, or for why you cannot extrapolate from this to that context over there. The functions of investigative discourse, establishing similarities and differences, get frozen solid in shifting perspectives and drifting lines of inquiry. Establishing why a certain deviation showed up in several or even one situation may be difficult to plot, such is the combination of mixed motives, random events and unforeseeable outcomes. Evaluations differ widely, and no matter how thematically similar in

methodology and agreed purpose, they become in execution nuanced and unanalogous to such high degree as to be almost idiosyncratic, particularised, maverick.

But underlying these disparities of setting there are certain unities of purpose and practice which might make valid between-case comparison possible, or at least allow us to treat evaluations as empirical units for attempting comparisons.

5.2.1. The Methodology of Comparison

The use of ethnographic methods in curriculum evaluation has been previously attested (3.11.I.) Curriculum development as a phenomenon has come to be monitored in recent years not so much by statistical analysis, defining the context of educational experiments and the results of action research, as by descriptive analysis, designed to illuminate effective processes of change. The extent to which what has come to be known as qualitative evaluation can throw light on processes and problems associated with individual developments has come to be recognised in greater or lesser degree by members of the evaluation community.

In surfacing problems of more general applicability however, evaluation case studies, using ethnographic methods have been subject to the usual limitations of sociological and anthropological research.

It is well recognised, for example, that case study research involving isolating the object of study into a single unit, or into several comparable units of investigation, cannot "pre-establish" the empirical units of investigation with variables, constant, dependent or independent, as set out for example in physics research.

Such research as is engaged in by ethnographers takes the units of investigation the way it finds them, and neither controls or otherwise interferes, insofar as is possible, with the normal course of social interaction, such normal social intercourse being the object of study in the first place[6].

Ethnographic study cannot be controlled in the way physical experiments can, so as to introduce a priori systematic variations in preset independent variables. At the outset of the study, it may not even conjecture what constitutes constant or independent variables in this or in that particular unit of study, the possibility for hypothesising as such may only emerge at the end of the investigation[7].

One of the ways which anthropologists use to systematise a posteriori hypotheses generated in ethnographical research is the process of controlled comparison called Concomitant Variation Method. (CVM)[8] This method enables anthropologists to eliminate from their study circumstances and elements which are irrelevant for the purposes of their analysis. It facilitates an examination of the regularities and irregularities of distribution in the traits or elements which they have selected for study.

Controlled comparison itself depends crucially on identifiable requirements.

According to Clignet:

> "The purpose of controlled comparisons is to test the validity of the conditions deemed necessary to uphold a hypothesis, after irrelevant circumstances have been eliminated.
>
> In order to accomplish this, two basic requirements must be fulfilled. First, units compared must be typical examples of the range of possible variations in the series of phenomena investigated. Second, variables which are held constant and whose possible influence is thus seen to be irrelevant must also be clearly defined and assessed."[9]

Testing the validity of conditions necessary to uphold a hypothesis means positing the conditions under which certain outcomes might be expected to recur, and then putting conditions to the test of seeing whether they are replicated in different instances and circumstances.

5.2.2. The unitary nature of the phenomena being considered

Clignet[10] argues that typicality necessitates firstly establishing the unitary nature of "each one of the phenomena being considered." In his account, to establish typicality is to ground the unitary nature of the phenomena being considered; it is a matter of locating single type solutions to psychological, social and other needs.

For example the family unit is a single type social solution to a number of different biological, psychological, social and economic needs. These needs in the circumstances are limited by the number of persons involved, being confined to the requirements of two or more people depending on the size of the family unit. The solutions to hand are further limited by the fact that few alternative solutions can satisfy the same combination of biological, psychological, social, and economic needs as efficiently. Different forms of family manifestations can be compared for quality flexibility, efficiency and systematic recurrence of need satisfaction, and the scope of its solution compared to other alternative solutions open.

5.2.3. Two research strategies: boasting songs and blowguns[11]

There are two distinct research strategies available with regard to the problem of establishing typicality for the purpose of case study comparisons. ("Typicality pertains to the possibility of generalising the results derived from the controlled comparison.")[12] The first strategy is confined within the boundaries of a particular case and seeks

to establish the logic behind the structural emergence of particular manifestations. Clignet sees this strategy as a solution to the problem that might be posed thus: if all manifestations are so embedded and embroiled in particular circumstances that their uniqueness and idiosyncracy defies comparison, how can they be susceptible to cognitive order? The solution is to see manifestations as such, manifesting varieties of a single solution having a shared underlying logic. Clignet:

> "The first strategy consists of the examination of a single community on a single culture or a single geographical zone at a particular time, and the comparison deals in this case with variations in particular modes of action or social organization."[13]

The emergence in a culture of, say, boasting songs might occasion research into the boasting song as a mode of action governed by rules and conventions defining context appropriateness, attributable meaning etc. Applied to curriculum evaluation products and the Aggregate Pathology Model this strategy would entail taking a single curriculum evaluation and accounting for the appearance of different manifestations of the APM that occurred within it. This is what a subsequent chapter attempts with a case study of the Schools Cultural Studies Project.

The second strategy involves the study of some varied cases which, while they may differ widely, might be said, nonetheless, to have one or two traits in common. This strategy is used by scholars who want to study the concrete limits within which institution, values or cultural techniques may be said to develop or the conditions within which irrespective of social organization or other time or space factors, such forms of development regularly occur.

Thus Rands and Riley[14] showed that the use of the blowgun developed in zones and among cultures which had different and distinctive social organization, and had not been in contact with each other.

> "Independent investigation in this context results from the three following conditions (a) there is no other meat except small animals which live high in the trees; (b) the people are already using bamboo for other things; and (c) the people have nothing else with which to kill those animals high in the trees."[15]

They were able to demonstrate that in spite of very wide differences between the cultures studied, the presence in them of the three necessary and sufficient conditions allowed for the emergence of a single specific form of technology as a piece of cultural adaptation. If applied to evaluation case studies, this investigative strategy would take a variety of cases and, similarly investigate the necessary and sufficient conditions for the emergence of APM type social and political reactions to evaluation products. These too would be perceived as cultural adaptations.

Either of the above two strategies might be admissible to posit propositions with the grammatical construction: Given A. B. C. as constants APM type reactions occur as dependent variables.

5.2.4. Concomitant Variation Method: the blowgun[16]

The rest of this chapter is an application of the 'blowgun' method to generate cross-site generalisations relating to the emergence of APM-type reactions in the response of curriculum projects to attempts formally to evaluate them. Yet the use of this method depends crucially on establishing that programme evaluations are single type manifestations and appropriate empirical units of comparison.[17] Evaluation, while offering variety in its manifestations of methodologies and presentations, is fundamentally a single-type solution to the mainly socio-economic needs of assessment and accountability, focussing on single decisions

concerning the continuance, modification curtailment or cessation of programmes of development. Thus evaluation settings tend to be parsimonious in the number of alternative solutions which are available.

The fact that evaluations tend towards one-off solutions, decisions, rather than towards structural solutions, such as that represented by the family, does not alter its scope as a single-type solution to social economic and other needs.

Clignet secondly[18] suggests that in establishing typicality for purposes of empirical comparison, certain universal types must be posited in cultural groups interrelating with each other. He points to ways in which groups are organised into systems in relationship with each other as interdependent but role-differing parties combining to effect single type solutions to socio-economic need. Thus father, mother, grandparents, aunts, siblings in extended family units can be classified as to differentiation and complementarity of role and typed accordingly.

In defining parties of an evaluation as constituting similar universal types, hence further establishing typicality in evaluation case studies, what is pointed to as specific to definition is not their usual social orientation or role in the setting but their interests, expectations, and the scope of their activities as participants in and 'as parties to evaluation activity'.

5.2.5. One practical feature common to all evaluations[19]

The problems of science are infinite in scope, and offer solutions and ranges of solutions that are similarly infinite. Evaluation, though a science, is a practical science; it does not diversify in an infinite series of new problems, requiring new solutions, it converges on one problem and on one practical solution. The evaluation has to establish the ground for the continuance, curtailment, modification or termination

of a here and now existing programme. It is focussed, therefore, on a single decision and indeed its service role in relation to sponsors and 'decision-makers' has entered some of the standard definitions.[20] This tendency to single rather than diverse, human rather than scientific, solutions is the ground which establishes a rooted commonality of approach in all evaluative activity.

In this it differs radically from programme research.[21] Whereas programme research which is understanding-centred, and focussed on generalisations arising out of development - e.g. developmental 'models', 'substantive theory', policy considerations, in contrast evaluation focusses on the particular, the programme being developed, the decision about its future, the problem about its continuance which arises in consideration of its success of failure. In order to conduct an evaluation, data-gathering activity akin to research is necessary. But the concern is not for warrantable conclusions, or underlying truths beyond the instance; the activity is directed to understanding the programme or project itself and this in turn is directed toward making an informed judgement about the project. The focus is the instance not the class of instances from which it is drawn.

Even evaluations which are called non-judgemental or non-recommendatory are meant to 'inform the decision making process' about a particular programme. The evaluator, marshalls his information not with a practical judgement of his own in mind, but feeds the decision making processes of the decision makers or policy makers.[22]

5.2.6. Interests and Relationships

In all evaluations the various parties have implicit interests and interlocking roles and relationships. There is general acceptance in the literature for general role definitions of the four main sub-systems

involved in project evaluation, variously characterised as programme sponsors, programme developers, programme consumers and programme evaluators.[23]

Each of these groups has a specific role or function in the evaluation act. Each has other roles and other functions with respect to the programme, and they differ as to organisation from project to project. What is being established is a general meaningful and consistent understanding of their inter-function in evaluation.

Sponsors are the groups, bodies, individuals even, who put up money for programmes. Their interest may be in seeing what value they got for their money, and how it was cashed in terms of valid continuable development. Their function in evaluation is to understand the manner and content of the evaluation in such a way as to make meaningful decisions about the programme by way of its continuance, curtailment, modification or termination.

Programme developers are those who receive the money from sponsors to develop new educational programmes. They design and implement the programmes and oversee their continuance, where possible, after funding. Their function vis a vis evaluation is to make available needed information about the development and to provide access to needed informants and consumers alike. They also have a function with regard to so called formative evaluation to learn from the evaluation what it offers by way of ongoing information and critical comment in order to improve the product; and with regard to so called summative evaluation for the same improvement and for purposes of programme continuance after funding.

5.2.7. The role of constants[24]

From the point of view of what the research is trying to establish, sufficient and necessary conditions for the emergence of APM-type reactions, the cultural constants that link all evaluations can be defined as irrelevant. Since not all evaluations attract APM-type reactions, these constants cannot be the underlying explanation. The quest is for consistencies underpinning those settings where the problematic manifestations occur. Thus where a single system is being observed unities of time, space and culture being common to the subsets being examined are not germaine to the proposition or to the hypothesis being examined, to the conditions or outcomes being proposed. The proposition does not depend on such constants for its formulation or verification, hence they are irrelevant to it. They are 'givens' in the situation within which the proposition is made. Implicit in the proposition "if ABC ... then D" is the given situation XYZ. In the formulation this may be referenced to as "Given XYZ if ABC then D" but the given situation because it is common to all instances of ABC, is not relevant to the formulation or verification of the proposition if A B C then D as such.

Within the proposition "if ABC then D", there are stated conditions ABC which are independent subsets of the constants XYZ, ... Since these constants have been declared irrelevant, subsets ABC may vary from instance to instance in some cases existing and in other cases not; what the proposition states is that where they occur together then D follows. Insofar as they do not depend on the constants for their recurrence, they are therefore declared independent, insofar as they may or may not occur they are declared variable.

5.3.1. Generating the Hypotheses

This section attempts to establish the sufficient and necessary conditions for the emergence of APM-type reactions, in two stages. First I select two clearly contrasting evaluation settings in which such reactions have occurred and hypothesise concerning the importance of common features, separate and in addition to features that are true by definition of all evaluation activity, that might be held to condition and explain the emergence. I then take the hypothetical statement and test it against a variety of settings, on the blowgun anology outlined above.

For both stages the data base is the collective experience of the group of evaluators at the Third Cambridge Conference on Naturalistic Inquiry in Educational Evaluation Dec. 1979.[25] The two stages in the strategy, then, have a common aim, to investigate cases of the social role of evaluation products, with the idea of exploring the possible variations, some of which can be excluded as irrelevant to APM type political and social reactions, others of which can be hypothesised as necessary and sufficient conditions for their emergence. It is intended then, to employ as investigative model one similar to the 'blowpipe' example described above.

The two evaluations selected for comparative study are the UNCAL evaluation of the National Development Programme's Computer Assisted Learning[26] (Director: Barry MacDonald) and the Three Colleges of Education Evaluation (Director Clem Adelman)[27]. Both produced APM-type reactions, and the hypothesis is that these were premissed on necessary and sufficient conditions for the emergence of such reactions as cultural adaptations. The emergence of hypotheses about sufficient and necessary conditions depends upon identifying and examining circumstances that transcend the idiosyncracies of the setting, but excluding irrelevant

constants. This chapter establishes the hypothesis concerning these conditions of the emerging APM type reactions by comparing and contrasting two settings, before testing the insights against the whole range of evaluation settings that formed the database in discussing the APM, but this time treating evaluations as units of empirical enquiry. A later chapter explores closely the mechanisms of these conditions as the operation in a single setting the evaluation of the Schools Cultural Studies Project in Northern Ireland.[28]

It is now possible to re-state the hypothesis in technical terms.

> Given XYZ as irrelevant constants (the irrelevance can be established analytically) and given the presence of D (APM-type reactions). Consideration of a variety of settings (on the blowpipe analogy) enables us to identify ABC (sufficient and necessary conditions). In other words our present task has the purpose of establishing what the conditions ABC, which have not yet been located, might be.
>
> Subsequent investigation takes as its hypothesis, seen as strongly predictive across a wide range of settings, that
>
> where A and B and C occur, D (APM-type reactions) will follow, regardless of PQR (irrelevant constants) and XYZ (irrelevant variables).
>
> Syllogistically
>
> If ABC, then D
>
> If not ABC then not D[29]

5.3.2. The Two Cases

The UNCAL evaluation of the National Development Programme in Computer Assisted Learning and Clem Adelman's evalaution of **Three Colleges of Education** were initially chosen for comparison because they both produced strong APM-type reactions in spite of evident contrasts in circumstance, operation, stance and product. It may be useful to begin with brief summarising statements.

5.3.3. UNCAL[30]

UNCAL, an acronym for 'Understanding Computer Assisted Learning' spanned the middle three years (1974 - 1976) of the National Development Programme for Computer Assisted Learning (NDPCAL), which ran from January 1973 to December 1977. A proposal for a substantial evaluative study was put forward by Barry MacDonald during 1973, as a result of a consultancy commissioned by Richard Hooper, Director of NDPCAL. The proposal, consisting of principles, goals, roles, tasks procedures and methods was approved by the Programme Committee, the executive body of the National Programme, late in the same year.

The UNCAL staff consisted of a director, part-time, Barry MacDonald, three fulltime evaluators, David Tawney David Jenkins and Stephen Kemmis. (David Tawney retired after two years and was replaced by Rod Atkin). Three secretaries completed the team which was based at the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) at the University of East Anglia.

The NDPCAL consisted of over thirty five projects in U.K. These had a "spread" to primary and secondary schools, teacher training institutions, colleges of higher education, polytechnics, universities, military and industrial training establishments. However, the spread was not even. Half the funding of roughly £2 million capital went to third level education establishments.[31]

With a view to adequately representing the projects in NDPCAL, Barry MacDonald negotiated with each individual project and with the Programme Committee, on the content and form of the reportage. The content proposed would consist of principles, goals, roles, tasks, procedures and methods. The form was eclectic, drawing from different evaluative traditions, the evaluation adopted a non-recommendatory, issues-centred stance.[32]

Negotiation of access and release with the projects being evaluated included making reports available first to the projects and negotiating with them for fairness, accuracy and relevance. Only after this negotiation were the results of the evaluation made available to the Programme Committee for consideration. The members of the Programme Committee became very antipathetic to the Evaluation. Reports were rejected, dissent focussing on certain features of the presentation, such as the 'portrayal' of individuals on the programme.[33]

Attempts were made by the Committee to renegotiate the contract of the evaluation. These were resisted by the UNCAL team, who tried to convince the Committee of the professional character of their work, and sought to palliate grievances by dropping the more dysfunctional elements, without compromising the original brief.[34]

The Programme Committee were very dissatisfied with the evaluation and undervalued, if not actually rejected the reports. The evaluation team's director Barry MacDonald, was dissatisfied with the Committee's non-acceptance, felt aggrieved at the rejection and to an extent was unhappy with the outcome. APM type reactions occurred throughout.[35]

5.3.4. Three Colleges of Education Evaluation

Between 1962 and 1972 the number of students preparing to become teachers in Great Britain doubled, reaching 120,000 in the Colleges of Education and Polytechnics alone.[37] Debates about the quality of teacher preparation culminated in the commissioning of a committee to look into and make recommendations about teacher training. The committee under the chairman of Lord James reported in December 1971.[38]

A cumulative decrease of 6% in the birthrate had commenced in 1968, and the implications of this for educational planning were spelled out in the final chapter of the James Report. This chapter was never published.

However the ensuing White Paper from the Department of Education and Science: Education: a Framework for Expansion[39] did spell out the consequences of the fall in birthrate for the Colleges of Education. Reduction in numbers, even closures could occur. It was suggested that Colleges of Education might provide additional programmes of study. These would have objectives other than the preparation of teachers. This modification to the offerings of Colleges of Education was called 'diversification'.[40]

After initial negotiations with the DES, a programme of evaluation of three Colleges of Education undergoing diversification was undertaken in 1976.[41] The principal object of the study was to collect information about how new course arrangements might 'enhance' student choice away from teaching as a profession. Analysis of existing admissions statistics since 1973 about student intake, student qualifications and selection of courses was to form the basis of the study concerning the effect of the wider educational choice being offered. Included also, as evaluation objectives, was a study of curricular implications of the findings and a 'self study' based on illuminative techniques of evaluation.[42]

Clem Adleman knew nothing about the above brief when appointed to conduct the evaluation as part of a three year contract.[43] In fact on the basis of his understanding of his brief derived from the advertised job specification, he drew up plans for an "illuminative self-study" which he commenced straight away.

Submitting reports for self evaluative study at first, he found the response unsatisfactorily negative. A report submitted of public "induction processes" at a "passing out" convocation he found generated extremely negative reaction.[44]

In ensuing discussions, it was discovered that the contract originally setting up the study involved a survey of student intake, and its curricular implications as well as the "illuminative self study". For political reasons Clem Adleman decided to eschew the curricular question and the illuminative self study. He decided to concentrate on the recommended statistical survey of student intake.[45]

During the course of negotiations it became evident that DES HMI's were unfavourably impressed by the evaluator's performance. They also showed themselves ill-informed about the purpose and functioning of the Colleges.[46]

On publication of the statistical survey - in three forms, for DES, Colleges' staffs and expert research audiences - it was extremely well received as it revealed a real societal and educational function and purpose for the Colleges. It was hailed as of great value in the process of diversification, as it gave hope of renewed function and real purpose for the Colleges. DES HMI's and staffs of Colleges were all very happy. The evaluator, who had also kept up discussions of an illuminative kind felt Colleges well prepared to move forward. APM type reactions occurred initially, but later did not occur.[47]

5.3.5. Contrasting the cases

It is immediately possible, given the contrasting cases, to rule out of consideration any circumstance true of only one of the cases, as **any feature that differentiates between cases both of which produced APM-type reactions cannot logically form part of the sufficient and necessary conditions for their emergence.** The following differences can therefore be excluded from the hypothesis.

5.3.6. Differences in Scope

The NDPCAL[48] was a programme evaluation, involving up to 40 projects. Although most of these projects were in third level, nevertheless the overall spread of projects ranged from primary through secondary to third level education. UNCAL had one Director (part-time) and three full time evaluators.[49]

The Adleman evaluation[50] was an institutional evaluation of three Colleges of Education undergoing 'diversification' as part of the Programme of Expansion in British Education following the publication of the James Report.[51] Clem Adleman was full time research officer and he had one assistant.[52]

Differences of scope, while they clearly influence structure conduct and product of the evaluation, do not seem to affect occurrence or non occurrence of APM-type reactions, since these pertain to all sorts of evaluations large small or medium whether they involve a team of evaluators or single evaluation members, cf. above ch.3. passim.

5.3.7. Differences in the innovative settings

NDPCAL was testing out new computer technology in various educational and training settings.[53] It could be seen as an investment in education on behalf of the newly expanding computer industry. It could also be seen as an investment on the part of Government who were promoting at national level the development of new technology in the educational field in as many different settings as possible, with as many varied applications as interested educationalists could conceive of.[54] This meant the growth of educational capacity, especially in the field of technology, at all educational levels, but especially at the level of

tertiary education, where, it might be thought, the need to develop technology in relation to industry was greatest, and where personnel, time, and facilities might be more available.[55]

Thus MacDonald's evaluation, UNCAL, would have to do with the processes of educational development in relation to the design, implementation and testing of new computer technology, and its transfer to wider application and use in other than the test situation. The evaluation would have to deal with the practices and politics of innovative development in shop floor situations related to expansion and change. This would involve dealing with people of high educational creativity, entrepreneurship, and involvement in upward institutional change. In some respects the evaluation would be monitoring what looked like a market situation, where a "new product for use" was to find its way in the market place through the discovery of manifold workable applications for it nation wide.

Adleman's situation could not have been more different.[56] Far from being expansionist, his arena, his locus politicus, was in the field of cutbacks, retrenchments, retirements, closures and redeployment associated with dying institutions, or 'killed off' institutions, as was put laconically.[57] The decline in the birth rate meant a necessary contraction of service, and in particular a drastic cutback in the numbers of teachers being trained.[58] This meant that teacher training establishments either had to cease operations or diversify their offerings.[59] Some Colleges of Education were even threatened with closure, which in turn menaced the livelihoods of members of staff.

Thus Adleman's study had to deal with the innovative politics of institutions in decline; diversification, retraining of personnel, exposure to criticism and threats of retirement, loss of jobs and loss of professional status. These concerns were partially offset by the

creative challenge of educational reorientation and regrowth, the reorganisation along different lines of wilting systems, and the rethinking of trends and purposes in educational developments local and general.

Differences to the innovative settings then have very little to do with the appearance of APM-type reactions. Here one would have thought that such reactions would be more fraught in situations of greater risk, as in Adleman's case. While Adleman was more conscious of the risk situation, MacDonald experienced a more mordent and persistent antagonism, which would seem to argue that APM-type reactions is independent of the setting, and has its origin in some other source.

5.3.8. Differences in the structure and procedures of the evaluations

According to agreed procedures, the UNCAL[60] team negotiated their twenty page (short and crisp) reports first with the project teams, and then, suitably modified, presented them to the Programme Committee. In consultation with the UNCAL team, and on the recommendations of the Programme Director, Programme Committee then made the decisions about the projects. In general this procedure was followed. But since the Programme Committee became more and more disenchanted with the UNCAL reports, they tended to rely more on the director's evaluative summaries, and on the other reports which they received from time to time from other sources, about the projects.[61]

Adleman had a Steering Committee which had decision making power over the conduct of the research.[62] It had capacity to take stock, deliberate and pass judgement on matters only concerned with the purposes, methods and styles of reportage to be adopted by the evaluation. The Committee had no potency to make decisions about changes to be

made in the Colleges being evaluated. That function was to be undertaken by the HMI's and the DES in consultation with the College chiefs and their staffs.[63]

He set up, in each of the three Colleges being studied, 'self evaluating' groups composed of members of Staff and College officials. The purpose of these groups was to discuss the general situation about the Colleges, with a view to commenting on the various aspects of curtailment and change. This in turn was thought to inform the decision making process. The groups were therefore consultative, had no decision making powers and were convened to give the different topics of concern to staff an airing and to make the contribution from the teaching and official body of each College as meaningful and as relevant as possible to those empowered to make decisions about them.[64]

Adleman notes that he found the Steering Committee to be unhelpful, and sought and found ways to bypass it. While appeasing it insofar as he could, he took the crunch decision about what kind of methodology to adopt on his own. He produced two versions of his report, one for the Committee, HMI's and the DES, and for College Staffs and Officials, and one for 'experts' in the research and evaluation field.[65]

In this case, the evaluator, finding he was in a very sensitive situation opted out of sensitive areas and processes which were causing embarassment and sensitive reaction, and decided instead to go for an objective form of inquiry which he felt gave the kind of information everybody might find useful, one which the while, would upset nobody.[66]

But in the interim as will be shown more clearly later, APM type reactions occurred as with MacDonald, a fact which confirms that they do not depend on the way evaluations are structured.[67]

5.3.9. Differences in the Status of the Evaluation

MacDonald had an established reputation as an evaluator. As author of a number of prestigious papers on evaluation theory, e.g. on 'democratic evaluation', he held a position of some status in the evaluation community.[68] He was moreover a member of an established academic research unit, the Centre for Applied Research in Education (CARE) attached to the University of East Anglia. He directed a team of three co-evaluators.[69]

Clem Adleman, although an experienced researcher at the National Foundation for Educational Research, was new to "creative" educational evaluation.[70] He did not have a Centre, he was instead situated in one of the Colleges he was evaluating. He had one assistant researcher.[71]

The fact that in either situations of prestige APM type reactions occurred would seem to indicate that they are not dependent on relative high or low status of evaluations.

5.3.10. Differences in Contractual Arrangements

The two evaluations were markedly different also in their contractual arrangements. Prior to the evaluation MacDonald had negotiated the contract with all of the parties concerned, and drew up a detailed brief which was agreed by all. Despite some misunderstanding, and attempts to renegotiate the contract, he remained clear as to his brief, felt it provided well for the purposes of the evaluation, and insisted on adhering to it.[72]

Adleman, on the basis of the job specification advertised, and with the approval of his Steering Committee, drew up a brief for himself, involving a form of self evaluation for all three Colleges to engage in.[73] It subsequently turned out that there was another brief. This had been laid down at the time that the money for his three year evaluation

study was allocated, and it listed two other studies as well as that undertaken. These were, a study of the curriculum of the Colleges, and a study of the student population.[74]

Adleman's situation remained ambiguous. Nobody, least of all himself, received absolute determinations as to what he should be doing. In the end, he made up his own mind what to do and produced his report on the basis of a judgement of the politics of the situation.[75]

While contractual arrangements were markedly different therefore, APM type reactions recurred in both cases. They would seem to be independently recurring phenomena therefore whatever the contractual arrangements.[76]

5.3.11. Differences in Role Perception and Value Stance

In such circumstances it is natural that each evaluator would perceive his role differently. Barry MacDonald saw the evaluation as providing a service to the Committee which was in accordance with a previously agreed formula.[77]

Although tight situations emerged in the conduct of the evaluation, both at project and committee level, and certain accommodations had to be arrived at, basically he stuck to the formula that had been agreed. According to him, political and professional integrity entailed the purposeful carrying out of agreed decisions even in the face of open hostility and opposition from the start.[78] In the course of protracted discussions about his stance at the Cambridge Conference, he saw his role simply, and dismissed suggestions that he should have yielded rather to the political situation as 'complicating the issue'.[79] The fact that the Committee refused to accept the reports, and accepted rather the recommendations of the director, made no difference to the stand of the

evaluation.[80] If the Committee members were to make informed decisions about the projects they would have to accept and read the form of reports that had been agreed and contracted for, he thought.[81]

Clem Adleman on the other hand was more ambivalent, less assertive and less clear about the nature of his role. This showed in a process that was 'reactive' to the political situation.[82] When his 'Self Study' reports met with little cooperative response, he turned to a study of student induction as providing a more practical field of study, but when this also proved too sensitive he backed away,[83] and when the other parts of his brief emerged, he dismissed one, curriculum, as being also politically too sensitive.[84] Eventually he surmised the study of the student population could have a profound impact on current misconceptions about the Colleges, and made a personal and professional decision to explore that area, as one that would professionally satisfy himself, and prove most useful in the circumstances.[85]

Perhaps their view of role was also a function of their personal orientation. The sharper focus of MacDonald, his mordant pursuit of agreed procedures, were more than a function of a tenacious personality.[86] There were ethical considerations as well. Faced with the 'privilege' of a bureaucracy, its rigid determination to down face the evaluation because of the tone of the reports, MacDonald saw himself in a battle between the establishment on the one hand, and the liberalising influence of Universities on the other.[87] He was inflexible in challenging the Committee's right of dictat, their suppression of democratic and liberal influences, their inflexibility, their bureaucratic mirror vision.[88]

Clem Adleman on the other hand, although not less committed to social change, was more accepting of the limitations of bureaucracy, and was not aware of a necessity to challenge it.[89] His ethical orientation,

although profoundly committed, was more flexible, and his attitude was to wait and see what most effectively could be done.[90] He was content to work his way through the many vicissitudes of his situation until he arrived at what can only be called a personal evaluative conviction.[91] This would
forward his own social and professional goals but in a way that would usefully win over the bureaucrats and others to his way of thinking.[92] He succeeded in modifying their misconceptions by professionally presenting the facts.[93]

While Adleman was reviewing his position as up to the time he made his decision, there seems to have been discernible difference in the role perception and value stance of each evaluator. Nevertheless APM type reactions occurred in each case. Had Adelman made a different decision reactions would probably have remained the same during this period of indecision. This would seem to indicate that APM type reactions are not dependent on role perception or evaluation stance of the evaluator.

5.3.12. Review of the Argument

According to Clignet[94] typicality in cases being compared concerns the role of constants, the congruence of systematic activity in the units being compared towards single type solutions to socio economic and other problems, and, finally, the unitary nature of the systems involved.

In evaluation case studies, the role of the constants is defined in the context of either of the strategies involved. In the first strategy this role entails single evaluations whose context, time, space, socio-economic background, is defined as a constant in which variables or APM type reactions and their conditions of occurrence may eventuate as

dependent (APM type reactions) or independent (conditions of occurrence) variables. The constants being declared not relevant to the emergence of variables and to their variability.

In the second strategy (the blowgun alternative), the constants declared irrelevant are apparent differences between projects, which while constantly present as differences are methodologically declared irrelevant to outcomes and to the variability of dependent variables with respect to independent variables.

With regard to congruence towards single type solutions, it has been pointed out that evaluative activity converges towards single type decisions with respect to programmes, institutions, systems being evaluated.

With regard to the unitary nature of the systems involved it has been pointed out that parties to evaluative activity have interlocking interests and agreed systems of relationships with each other. (5.3.3.)

Thus, it has been demonstrated that in the two cases being reviewed, for purposes of establishing valid conditions for the appearance of APM type reactions, the three elements pertaining to the establishments of typicality are present.

In this instance two cases are being compared and this means the second strategy (the blowgun alternative) is being employed.

Differences of scope,[95] innovative settings,[96] evaluative structure,[97] evaluation status,[98] contractual arrangements,[99] role perceptions of evaluators,[100] were all considered and it was demonstrated that such differences were irrelevant to the appearance of APM type reactions of evaluation products. What therefore were the relevant differences or similarities?

5.4.1. Contrasting Processes Contrasting Outcomes

There is a further dimension that makes the contrast between the two cases, UNCAL and TCE, potentially instructive for the purpose of our investigation. Although both projects evidenced APM-type reactions, thus enabling some of their contrasting features to be excluded from our quest for sufficient and necessary conditions for APM-type reactions, Adelman was to some extent able to rescue or ameliorate the problems while MacDonald was not. Contrasting processes led to contrasting outcomes, incidentals which offer contrasting evaluative features as a source of possible insight.

5.4.2. Process: The evaluation is for turning; changing the scope of the problem

Adelman found himself in a difficult situation with his self-evaluation case study and had to decide whether to continue with that evaluation in the face of general lack of appreciation for the exercise, and a kind of virulent opposition to it in the case of one of the participating colleges.[101] He was not happy with the configurations of the inquiry as understood by the Steering Committee, by the participants to it in the Colleges, and by others responsible, officials of the DES and members of HMI.[102] What he did was to set up a holding operation, palliating those concerned with reports, ("bland and very trivial"), while setting about discovering what the problem of the colleges might be, and to what possible purpose his investigation was directed.[103]

The turn which his inquiry now took was open and speculative. He shopped around among informants for possible clues to the questions he asked, he ran through newspaper accounts for further intelligence.[104]

Meanwhile he continued a line of investigation which he thought least provocative among the options then open to him, updating his data as answers to his other questions seemed to demand.[105]

5.4.3. Process: The evaluation is not for turning; holding the contractual line

There were, in Adelman's case, certain contractual ambiguities, if not irregularities, which would have allowed him flexibility in the conduct of his evaluation. MacDonald would allow no such ambivalence.[106] He had negotiated a contract by which UNCAL would produce a portrayal of NDPCAL projects to be severally agreed with each project's personnel before presentation to Programme Committee.[107] Despite the fact that this process proved a "sticking point", he persisted in adhering to it.[108] He held the line of the contract with the Committee, insisting on his portrayals despite opposition to their format, making few substantive concessions, hoping to split Committee consensus and provoke a debate which might eventuate in "converting" the members to his point of view.[109]

5.4.3. Contrasting outcomes

Certain features of the TCEE contract enabled Adelman to focus on what he thought was the problem of the Colleges and what he felt the study should be about.[110] He found that very little in fact was known about student intake and when he produced detailed information this was found to be relevant to a host of problems, administrative and curricular which enabled pertinent policy decisions at every level.[111] The result was universal acclaim for the study on the part of all concerned.[112]

MacDonald insisted on his portrayals. Despite his constant argument for their worth, committee refused to read them.[113] The result was the evaluation was thwarted of its original intent and an evaluation specifically designed to represent the situations and efforts of project teams to the responsible decision making body exactly failed in its primary object.[114]

This contrast in response would seem to indicate the importance of a 'practical' problem seeking orientation as a focus for successful evaluative inquiry. It also indicates that the production of portrayals based on case study work, theoretical rather than practical in scope, seem more likely to produce APM-type reactions and unsuccessful outcomes resulting from evaluation products.

5.5.1. Similar processes and situations, produce similar kinds of reactions

While both evaluations, UNCAL, TCE can be considered helpful towards resolving our problem in that contrasting stances and processes produced insightful contrasting outcomes, both also evinced similar processes that recurred in similarly construable situations. These features are also enlightening in defining possible sufficient and necessary conditions for APM type reactions.

5.5.2. Evaluation ploys perceived as put downs, and as professional misbehaviours

When Adelman "pushed" his Steering Committee ("I was garfinkling them")[115] to respond to allegations of Colleges' incompetence, mismanagement and inferiority in standards and performance in comparison with the similar type institutions, Universities, Polytechnics, he was engaging in a professional ploy which was designed to get Committee members to admit

to their "interests" so that all could proceed on the basis of better self knowledge through understanding the tensions and territories each was defending.[116] He found himself type cast in reaction as professionally incompetent himself, and devalued as a member of his own professional community.[117] Thus his ploy was not subtly perceived as a psycho analytic one, from the couch as it were, provocative though ultimately enlightening, but as an exercise in defamation requiring a response in kind.[118]

MacDonald, engaging in a similar ploy, a playlet designed to mirror to it the processes and power manipulations of his Programme Committee, found himself similarly disabused.[119] His ploy was miscontrued as deliberately mischievous and wrong headed.[120] The exercise was seen as maverick and damaging to the establishment to such a degree that the subsequent virtually "unanimous hostility" to UNCAL was seen as traceable to it alone.[121] The response would be interpreted as an attempt to render Committee's attitude emphatic by virtually ignoring UNCAL's productsas professionally irrelevant and inappropriate.[122] The products were treated as part of an indecorous and indiscreet pattern of behaviour designed by UNCAL to belittle and publicly humiliate Committee, requiring contempt and public disdain as an appropriate response.[123]

Thus in both instances, what were professional ploys were not perceived as such, but as attempts at public humiliation, and were responded to in kind. It is possible to see therefore in the APM type reactions these ploys evoked a perceived public defamation conducted by individuals seen as maverick "so called" professionals.[124]

5.5.3. The intensifying effect of the evaluation's crucial "make or break" role

Both Adelman and MacDonald suffered in their evaluations from a further negativing influence, intensifying somewhat the spiral of contrary effects to their evaluative efforts.[125]

Adelman in particular found himself in a situation where the threat of closure, with the prospect of loss of jobs and loss of status bearing down heavily on the individuals involved, raised levels of anxiety and worry to such a pitch that the equanimity needed to conduct the proposed self evaluation study was virtually absent in some cases.[126] He recalls that had he issued full reports to his Steering Committee instead of the "banal" ones he had offered, the evaluation would have been seen as directly "suicidal" by colleges if the decision not to close them had gone the other way.[127] The evaluation would have been held directly responsible, he considered, for the fact of closure.[128]

MacDonald found the UNCAL evaluation was conducted at a similarly crucial juncture where the "rites of passage" of project survival from one developmental phase to another were being negotiated.[129] This was the critical "step funding" procedure when decisions were taken to further, modify, curtail or stop project development.[130] He felt that the projects in fact were poorly represented at these deliberations. Collectively and individually they had no voice at the decision making table.[131]

MacDonald feared that the overriding potency of the NDPCAL director would be to diminish the Programme Committee's role as to reduce it to simply rubber stamping his recommendations.[132] He felt the Committee should be democratically informed so as to dispute and even countermand his recommendations if necessary.[133] In this decision-cleft he felt that the evaluation had a crucial role to play. It had to represent the

situations and the efforts of the projects in such a way that critical decisions about them could be made as in an informed and enlightened basis. [134] This gave a particular urgency to the evaluation reports, and to the disputes and debates that surrounded them.[135]

Thus, while their situations differed, Adelman's "dying institutions milieu, MacDonald's "developing" Programme, the impending "chop" to survival dominated both evaluations at particular nodal points in a sequel of evaluative interventions.[136]

5.6.1. Sufficient and Necessary Conditions for the emergence of APM-type reactions

We are now in a position to combine our two cases UNCAL, TCEE, with their contrasts and similarities. Having excluded constants simply definitive of all evaluation activities (useful because they allow evaluations of educational programmes to be treated as empirically-comparable units) and attributes distributed across settings or occasions, it is now possible to hypothesise on the sufficient and necessary conditions for the emergence of APM-type reactions. These appear to be

1) that the products are not technically 'practical' in the sense identified by Schwab.[137]
2) that the products are perceived and interpreted as intentionally derogatory or demeaning.[138]
3) that the production of products is characterised by association with rhetorical sequences that place them on cusps, exacerbating and multiplying any tendencies in the projects towards negative or adaptive response.[139]

Each of these might be elaborated.

5.6.2. That the products are not technically practical in the sense identified by Schwab[140]

The art of the evaluation departs from Schwab's 'art of the practical'; it is not problem-defining but preoccupied with system images, causal relationships and understanding (Because it is explanation-centred rather than experience-centred (contrast the model akin to client-centred therapy used by Center for New Schools in Chicago), it lacks lucidity, reverberation, moral identification, rapport.[141]

There is a real or perceived dichotomy of interests between the evaluation and project personnel APM-type reactions are a defense of the perceived interests of the team or sponsors against those of the evaluator;[142] examples include the right to privacy, the right to know or the right to executive responsibility versus the right to critical intervention.[143]

The cognitive element producing negative reaction to evaluation products would seem to involve some predetermined starting point, some principle or model of explanation. The evaluation might be seen as providing an interpretive stance, a set-piece frame or focus of explanation through which data is filtered as relevant, and in which it is mentally organised and presented as conducing to some kind of working image of the evaluated system or institution and in which its system-forms and activities are to be understood or judged. This system-image may be representational or causal.

As representational the image may seek to 'portray' the project or institution in one or other form as some kind of model or interpretive system, using devices, culled from ideographic or other arts and sciences, literary, 'ethnographic', 'responsive', journalistic as

instanced in the literature[144] and as adopted and negotiated for their explanatory purposes by individual evaluators in accordance with personal aims, taste, style or disposition.

As causal the systems image may seek to trace effects to an origin or cause. Thus the source of failure of a project may be traced to malfunctioning individuals in key positions in the system, or success may be attributed to the processes by which aims were implemented. In either case a 'construct' or conceptual map of how the project works is the primary evaluative goal.[145]

5.6.3. That the products are perceived and interpreted as intentionally derogatory or demeaning[146]

As regards the aspect of evaluation producing negative reactions, which is "moral" in scope, it would seem that certain, sometimes invigorating and wholesome, evaluative stances are perceived and interpreted as derogatory.

APM type reactions can be comfortably analysed as adaptive strategies to reports perceived as derogatory. As such they fall within the sociology of moral indignation and deviance.[147] They 'fit' the model put forward by Harold Garfinkel in his 'Conditions of successful degradation ceremonies.'[148] In the shape of examples, the evaluation report is itself seen as a 'degradation ceremony', particularly as with the South Glamorgan Remedial Reading Project[149] when it is formally de-graded at a step-funding occasion, and the adaptive response can be considered a good fit with Garfinkel's comments on the art of making a denunciation useless.[150] According to this logic, the denounced who wishes to neutralise an effective derogation exercise conducted against him, must follow the self same process adopted by the original appellant, if he is to cancel its effects. Reversing the results involves reversing

the procedures. The person stigmatised can only remove the imputation laid against him by setting up a counter charge and the structure of the second recrimination will therefore mirror the first accusation. The denounced will conduct the counter exercise and will follow the procedures of the initial degradation ceremonial.

5.6.4. That the production of products is characterised by association with rhetorical sequences that place them on cusps, exacerbating and multiplying any tendencies in the project towards negative adaptive response strategies.[151]

This involves "nodal" points, (RD and D); step funding; continuation, executive dissemination etc. The evaluative product is overdramatised as crucial at these nodal points, thus acquiring an exaggerated 'gateway' role. In extreme circumstances, the evaluation may be used to terminate the culture it describes. Catastrophies occur at these cusps because the project being evaluated is characterised by social roles and relationships between the evaluators and the developers that are novel, confused or both.[152] In these circumstances the roles are interpreted emotionally to accord with guiding metaphors derived from analogous areas of social life - the judge; the critic; the inspector; the gossip; the enemy; the investigative journalist.[153]

The importance of the cusps at the nodal points of rhetorical sequences and of project reports, is also enhanced if the programme being evaluated is institutionally marginal and at risk.[154]

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CHAPTER SIX THE SCHOOLS CULTURAL PROJECT (SCSP): AN EVALUATIVE CASE STUDY IN CONCOMITANT VARIATION ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

Having established certain hypotheses for the causes of APM type reactions to evaluation products, the analysis now moves to examine these hypotheses in a case study using concomitant variation analysis.[1]

Assuming that certain configurations may be treated as constants, and hence not relevant to the study (cf. Ch.5)[2] it is proposed to examine APM type reactions to four evaluation products, and in these reactions to test out the hypotheses previously devised (ch. 5)[3] in the analysis.

In this case study, therefore, features such as time and space as well as the entire 'culture' of the evaluation milieu are excluded, as methodological 'constants', irrelevant to the inquiry.[4] Although another case is not presented for concomitant study,[5] a sufficient number have been addressed in the previous chapters to enable us to proceed directly to the examination of variations in two sub-systems common to all evaluations: products, and reactions to products.[6] We give four instances of these subsystems, all of them occurring in the one evaluation case study, and in them we test the validity of the hypotheses.

With regard to which form of concomitant variation analysis this case study represents, the present instance may be taken in either of two ways. It may be seen as an extension of the "blowgun" argument hitherto developed, or as a single once-off representative of the other form, where time space and culture are held constant, and the subsystems of

products and reactions to products are studied as dependent variables. The inquiry will seek to establish what are the possible causes (independent variables) of product reactions.[7]

6.2. The Schools Cultural Studies project

The Schools Cultural Studies Project was initiated by Professor Malcolm Skilbeck, Director, Education Centre, New University of Ulster, Coleraine.[8] In a submission to Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust (JRCT, September 1973, he proposed

> "... to develop a long term programme of support for the renewal of the school curriculum directed towards the sensitive and vital areas of attitude formation, values and moral-civic behaviour in Northern Ireland."[9]

The funding was approved, with matching grant from the Department of Education in Northern Ireland (DENI) part funding the project which began operations in Autumn 1974.[10] After four years, the project came up for refunding in Spring 1978.[11] The evaluation which is studied here was commissioned in Autumn 1977[12] beginning its operations in November of that year, with a view to aiding the decisions to be made about the project during the period when the refunding was being considered.

6.3. SCSP Evaluation

The preface to the evaluation Final Report, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers[13] outlines the setting and circumstances of the evaluation. First the occasion of the evaluation is described:

> "This evaluation study was set up in October 1977 as the result of some discussion at the previous Consultative Committee of the Schools Cultural Studies Project (herinafter SCSP). SCSP was conceived in 1973 and was for some time running to an expected termination date in 1978. At the time the evaluation study was commissioned the joint sponsors, the Northern Ireland Department of Education and the Joseph Rowntree Charitable Trust, were considering

> funding an extension (which has now been granted) up until 1980. The New University of Ulster continues to house the project."[14]

The following characteristics of the evaluation are quoted from the original contract:

> i) independent. The project allows reasonable access and accepts that a Final Report will be published. Although the content of this report will be the responsibility of the evaluation team,not of the project or its Consultative Committee, every effort will be made to negotiate its content for fairness and accuracy.
>
> ii) non-judgemental. The evaluation team would not assign value or make crude recommendations. Rather it will seek to write an issue-centred portrayal of the Project, collecting judgements rather than making them.
>
> iii) methodologically eclectic. Although broadly working in an illuminative (social anthropological) tradition, the evaluation teams would gather survey data and perhaps employ measurement techniques in relation to some of the more crucial objectives.
>
> iv) responsive. The team would try to assess the audiences for its reports, and what questions they want answered, rather than simply pose its own.
>
> v) short, sharp, intensive, based on hit-and-run fieldwork and writing up quickly while hot. This will give an immediacy to the portrayal and subsequently an updated interpretation of the issues facing the project."[15]

The audiences of the evaluation are also ennumerated. They include users, teachers and school management, potential users i.e. teachers and schools considering the project, educationalists and evaluators, and the sponsoring or funding agencies.

The "hit and run" fieldwork was achieved by introducing experts, Stephen Kemmis,[16] Ann Breslin,[17] and Tom Anderson[18] alongside M.A. graduate students at the Education Centre, New University of Ulster.[19] However, the write up was not achieved as quickly as had been anticipated. This combined with the slow process of negotiation for fairness and accuracy[20] necessitated the production of two Interim Reports." A

"Summary" of the Final Report, Chocolate Drops was written to meet a felt need.[21] The Final Report itself Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers[22] was only semi-officially distributed.

Two key features of this evaluation scene-set emerge as crucial to this study. Firstly the evaluation directors, David Jenkins and Sean O'Connor, reserved for themselves full rights over the content of the evaluation reports. Although agreed to initially this reservation was later contested by the projects' Consultative and Management Committees. Secondly, both directors were anxious to test out emerging models of evaluation, including high-risk features, (e.g. portrayals of persons, investigative journalism), in the equally high risk SCSP setting. This also was agreed to, though misgivings were later voiced in Committee and elsewhere.

The products, covering most of the projected content areas emerged as follows:

First Interim Report - February 1978

Second Interim Report - May 1978

Final Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers - May 1979

Chocolate Drops 1981

6.4.1. The First Interim Report[23] (Introduction)

The basic problem facing the management of the project as it faced the decision whether or not to refund was whether to evolve a development and/or a dissemination strategy for the project. The First Interim Report addressed some of the underlying issues in the debate as these appeared to the evaluation in February 1978.

It attempted a critical "construction" of SCSP. The rationale behind the original remit of the project was examined in the light of different interpretations of it worked out by successive directors.

The report next looked at the institutional arrangements of the project as originally planned, and compared these with what had in fact evolved over time by way of project structures for innovation. And finally the report examined the delivery end. It studied what had in fact been accomplished in terms of innovation in teaching practice and in materials production, and presented the evaluation's assessment of such developments.

6.4.2. The Second Interim Report[24]

By May 1978 most of the data of the evaluation had been processed. But far from being in a position to produce a full report by "writing up quickly while hot", the writers found themselves in the middle of an information and work overload. With the funding for the project for another two years now virtually certain, the scope of the debate about the SCSP had altered. Questions were being asked about possible alternative routes for development and/or dissemination.

The Second Interim Report outlines these alternatives, commenting extensively on the range of options open to the project and bringing present arrangements once more into critical review. The burden of its comments inclined more toward a developmental stance. The evaluators felt that the project was not yet ready for a full dissemination programme.

The report had three significant appendices: Sean O'Connor's ethnographic analysis of a Derry Workshop,[25] insights into an experiment by teachers in groupwork with children from different sectarian backgrounds; Ann Breslin's analysis of a survey of social and moral reasoning conducted in Protestant and Catholic schools involved in the project;[26] and Tom Anderson's account of project pedagogy.[27]

6.4.3. The Final Evaluation Report "Chocolate Cream Soldiers"[28]

The Final Report of the SCSP evaluation Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers did not appear until the beginning of May 1980. By then it had undergone revisions. Under pressure from management, some responsive modifications had been made. One piece, an account of an incident involving soldiers and pupils, was entirely excised due to its potential embarassing subject matter. By and large, however, the authors were happy that a definitive version had been reached; The feeling grew that negotiations "for fairness and accuracy" could no longer be unreasonably protracted.

Substantial portions of the two Interim Reports are included in the final report which, roughly coinciding with the coverage of content outlined in the proposal to the SCSP Consultative Committee in Autumn 1977, breaks into five sections as follows:

1. Setting the scene
2. Portrayal of the Project
3. The Whirligig's Revenges
4. Focal Points
5. The Future.

A final section, 6. contains three written responses to the Report as its post-script. These bring the total number of chapters in the report to seventeen arranged among the various sections as content and scope demanded.

Setting the scene gives the preface and introduction, an opening account of the origins, personnel, scope, method and style of the evaluation. The project rationale, its own understanding of what it is about, is reviewed (ch. 1) and "glimpses" of the project culled from "inside" accounts, (children's essays and poems, teachers' reflections) are given (ch. 2).

The Portrayal of the Project is an analytic review of ethnographic and questionnaire data under various headings; Structure and Organisation (ch. 3), Perceived aims and Purposes (ch. 4), Curriculum Materials (ch. 5), Classroom Strategies (ch. 6), Centres Networks and Cells (ch. 7), Perceived Outcomes (ch. 8). This contains the core of the portrayal proper.[29]

The Whirligigs Revenges (ch. 9), describes the various shifts in emphasis which the project experienced under its various directors, and is in effect an attempt to demythologise the project's 'official history' and offer an alternative account.

Focal Points brings some particular aspects of the project's operation into sharper focus; The Values Clarification Process (ch. 10), Civil and Moral Reasoning (ch. 11), The Derry Workshop (ch. 12). And some more glimpses are contained in ch. 13, Kids Talk. Finally The Future (ch. 14) gives the alternative scenarios for the future of the project mostly as set out in the Second Interim Report. Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers also included written responses that had been received following the circulation of early drafts. This section, called Responses contains written replies from Project Officer Jim McKernan (ch. 15)[30] Professor Hugh Sockett (ch. 16)[31] and SCSP Director Alan Robinson[32] (ch. 17).

6.4.4. The Summarising Report "Chocolate Drops"[33]

Chocolate Drops cannot be considered a shortened version of Chocolate, Cream Soldiers. In many respects it is a "reprocess" of the evaluation data trimmed for consumption by teachers, administrators and curriculum developers.

After an introduction giving conditions, personnel and characteristics of the evaluation, it sketches a broad overview which contains elements of the evaluation's basic critique of SCSP, the project's vacillations amid various interpretations of its purpose.

The Lessons for Teachers are then spelled out; the basic stance of SCSP, its materials and their uses, classroom strategies, values clarification, games, simulation, role play, the social networks, and the expected pupil outcomes.

The Lessons for Administrators/Curriculum Developers are couched as issues arising out of the evaluation. The curriculum development project backed away from its remit, should this be allowed? Adequate structures are needed to implement the programme, should schools not providing them be allowed to participate? The implications of the project for research and teacher training, are given. The self sustaining conditions are necessary for the development to survive are spelled out. Finally, the legacy of the project it is argued, is not without ambiguity amd must be handled with care.

6.5. Reactions to the SCSP Evaluation Products

From the outset reactions to the various products of the SCSP evaluation were fraught with difficulty. Later the initial problems became compounded, exhibiting all the manifestations previously adumbrated in the APM. Finally, with the appearance of Chocolate Drops came a modicum of appeasement, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers was never officially acknowledged or made legitimate, though it was privately circulated among the cognosenti of the evaluation circuit, among graduate students at the Education Centre of NUU, and among the interested teachers and others involved with SCSP.[34]

6.5.1. Reactions to the "Initial" SCSP evaluation products

As far as Director Alan Robinson and his team were concerned a profound disquiet greeted the issuing of the First Interim Report[35] A feeling that lasted throughout the rest of the evaluation.

It was obvious that the first report depressed and dismayed both the team and those who had been associated with the work of the project as team members from the start. They felt that the report reflected badly on them as a project team, and on Alan Robinson's directorship in particular. Rowing in the middle of the boat, they felt they had performed with more credit than had been accorded them. Everyone from secretary to director felt hard done by.

Robinson was deeply pained by the report, which he felt had not done sufficient justice to either the scale of the problems he had faced when he took over as director, or to his own efforts.

Moreover the project team were troubled by the autocratic style of the evaluation. Its members had anticipated a more affable and open approach and found the evaluative method adopted to be unsound given their circumstances. The mismatch between the evaluative style embodied in the report, and the expectations of Robinson and his team caused a deep rift to grow between him and the evaluators, the pain grew into something akin to resentment, which, it could be argued, caused the team to reject, or at least pay little public attention to the basic arguments of the evaluation.[36]

The sponsors as represented at the first-look Consultative Committee Meeting[37] when the report was floated unread and wet inked, seemed baffled and uncomprehending. Hugh Sockett, who was present summed up the thrust of the arguments and accorded it initial validity. Later it became obvious that some had had difficulty wading through the perhaps difficult prose. What was worse the report did not seem to offer

anything to representatives which would help them further its interests with their respective bodies. The general picture, despite its glimpses into the project-at-work, seemed depressing. Alan Haire[38] Field Officer for SCSP 1975-7, perhaps best summed up this reaction

> "On first reading - very difficult to understand but the flavour is depressing.
> On second reading - bits begin to make sense and several thought-provoking suggestions are made, especially in the second half."[39]

Haire felt that if the report were intended for the sponsors especially the Joseph Rowentree Charitable Trust they would stand little chance of understanding it. He felt that this was dangerous as they would get only the "depressing flavour".

Haire and other ex-field officers (eg. Wilf Ridge)[40] picked up some inaccuracies in the account, and some ambiguities notably concerning an alleged change from "broad front" to materials based development. But these would not alter the general argument. The analysis of the Curriculum Materials contained Haire thought a "large element of truth."[41]

While the evaluators were being congratulated by Committee Chairman Tom Cowan for their sterling efforts, (it was evident, however incomprehensible to him at first blush, that a great deal of thought, time and intelligent effort had gone into the production of the report) they were not admitted to Committee decisions where the future of the project was being discussed. Neither were they asked to comment on dispositions of SCSP in a possible future scenario, or on the thinking of Committee at that point. The evaluation were independent outsiders, and as such were asked questions merely to elucidate the sense of the document they had produced. They were not made privvy to Committee forward thinking.[42]

It may be that this form of rhetorical acceptance was an independent evaluation's due. It had produced a report. It was the Committee's and managements' job and duty now to get on with the job of planning, making what use it could of the product without any other input from the evaluation beside a preliminary discharge of its commission.

However there were other indications that neither the style nor the content of the report sat well with the Committee members, realised their anticipations or came within expectations of what could be considered useful to the discharge of their Committee functions.

This reaction was even more evident after the Second Interim Report[43] had been produced. Here the evaluation, conscious of the depressing effects of the First Interim Report tried to adopt a more forward looking and hopeful outlook with this follow up effort. Its analysis spelled out more clearly the practicalities of implementation and the alternative routes for development open to the project. The appendices to the Second Interim Report moreover looked at areas of more positive achievement which held out promise for positive progress if properly exploited. This was more than hinted at in an analysis which in some places seemed to abandon temporarily the avowed non recommendatory stance of the evaluation.[44]

But if the Second Interim Report, which fronted as "notes towards an oral presentation in Committee", hoped to stimulate a more positive response from SCSP management and consultants, these hopes were largely to be in vain.

At the Consultative Committee Meeting[45] which considered the report the alternative scenarios for development were hardly ever discussed. The rather critical analysis of the Derry Workshop, and Tom Anderson's review of project pedagogies evinced again the feeling of depression, mentioned previously (6.5.1.), at the evaluations propensity for zooming in on the

weakest chinks in the project's armoury. Ann Breslin's analysis had suggested that some Catholic pupils tested in her survey may have shown more advanced Civil and Moral Reasoning indices than their counterparts might have done, an intimation which could hardly ever endear the project to at least some of its prospective constituencies. In Northern Ireland 'reasoning' about certain matters can connote 'Brit', 'wet', 'liberal' or 'Lundy' according to sectarian affiliation.[46]

The fact that the evaluation was again trying to produce a 'construction' of the project to guide the Committee discussion was scarcely adverted to. The critical analysis was not overtly seen in the context of what had now to be decided about the project. The alternatives spelled out by the evaluation for "weighting" as deliberative options, were seen as confusing issues. Different groups tended to respond differently, Tom Cowan (Chairman) expressed his clear distaste for this form of analysis, he alluded to "murk" and "muddying the waters". He preferred his own clear appraisals and felt the project should go on doing what it was best at."[47] The DENI representative however expressed satisfaction with Ann Breslin's analysis of some progress indicated in the Social and Moral Reasoning figures. It gave him "figures to put before friends in Finance."[47] Meanwhile Director Robinson remained in some anguish at what he felt again were wrongly directed foci of a misplaced evaluation.[48]

At one stage in the Committees proceedings David Jenkins, (with the Chairman's permission) trooped in his M.A. students to witness the impasse as evaluation and Committee became more and more entrenched in their respective rhetorics. They uttered some bemused comments at a Seminar afterwards when O Connor was asked to give his somewhat confused impressions of the proceedings.[49] The "notes" had produced a relatively unfocussed mindless Committee discussion.

6.5.2. Possible reasons for reactions to the First and Second Interim Reports

We have already seen from our analysis of the APM in (3.5.1.ff. 4.5.1. ff) that "rhetorical acknowledgement divorced from political action" is one of the more typical reactions to evaluation products. As Malcolm Parlett suggested it sometimes connotes a mere deferment of political action. A short term tactic of refusing to acknowledge an evaluation "hit" may be followed by reflection, understanding and eventual longterm political effect.[50]

This seems to be what happened in the case of the interim SCSP evaluation reports. There was praise for the evaluation efforts, and a certain acknowledgement for its contributions. But there did not appear to be at the time any deliberation about their contents. Later on however there seemed to have been something of a takeup. Robinson admits in his Director's Report that they helped the Project teams to "sharpen their focus" on some problems.[51] And it is possible to conclude that some of the criticisms were later attended to with some care.[52]

In retrospect, as it turned out, these interim products were thought to have been of some practical help. And in an unguarded moment at a meeting on November 5 1979, Director Robinson, "lured into open ground", admitted that the evaluation "steered us more than it realised."[53] He cannot have been unaware that there was at the time no realisation at all that the evaluation products we have been discussing were in fact making any impact. There seemed to have been a conspiracy of silence that amounted in the evaluators' eyes to a tacit rejection or distancing from the evaluation and its products, a defensive clampdown on

information from deliberations that were known to be taking place. To the evaluators, the rhetorical acknowledgement which the products received seemed at the time quite divorced from deliberative action.

There are three possible, and not unconnected reasons why the Initial Reports might have become such objects of this APM type reaction by the SCSP project team, by its Director, and by most of its Management Committee. In the first place Robinson and his team had wanted a more intimate collusive relationship with the evaluation, a relationship spurned by the evaluation as potentially compromising its objectivity. Secondly the critical 'portrayal' or 'construction' of the project which the evaluation presented in those interim efforts was seen by the evaluation as implicating the project team and is management in a mis-appropriation of what the project should have been about. Thirdly the sponsors, JRCT and DENI, clearly expected a bureaucratic evaluation, one which would publicly and clearly endorse the project, its management and all of those responsible while perhaps, allowing scope for a private 'off the record' critique.

6.5.3. Director Robinson and his project team had wanted a more intimate collusive relationship with the evaluation, which the evaluation spurned.

Concluding a paragraph critical of the 'hit and run' methods of observation adopted by the SCSP evaluation team, Director Robinson writes:

> "Built-in evaluators have hung around like wallpaper in several English Schools Council projects - here it was the central team who hung around waiting."[54]

The problem with SCSP of course was that it had no built-in evaluation and the 'hit and run' effort provided could not have given the intimate association with the project which Robinson wanted. But even if the "fly on the wall" which the SCSP officers desired were on, it is doubtful if

anything but the most collusive and cosy of relationships would have satisfied anyone so sensitive as Robinson was to criticism, and to the possible effect of such criticism on his personal and public image with teachers, headmasters, whether actively or potentially involved in the project, and with other members of the SCSP constituency. He seemed at times to be nervously watchful, and over-sensitive in the face of criticism. It was clear for example that he felt almost physically pained and upset at the initial criticism by the evaluation.

So persistent were Robinson's efforts to conduct his own defence, so insistent in public abrogation of criticism, and so concerned to make a justificatory stance, that Jenkins felt he and Robinson had reversed roles. "More usually an evaluation is sent in to 'chasten' a whizz kid director. But in this instance the whizz kid evaluators were themselves being constantly monitored by a savvy director."[55]

At a Stranmillis meeting in June 1980 called to convey and consider the Permanent Secretary's adverse reactions to Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers. Alan Robinson launched the opposition by voicing his disappointment with the whole exercise. He had hoped, he said, that David Jenkins' 'fringe style' evaluation might be helpful in developing the educational aspects of the projects' work.. "But it all turned out different to what I had imagined." The emphasis in the First Interim Report gave him to understand that this evaluation was going to do what he thought to be different to what he had anticipated.[56]

Shy, diffident and extremely sensitive to any criticism of himself, his project, or of anything which he felt might reflect on its performance or good name, Robinson disliked what he termed the "autocratic" style of the evaluation and looked on its conduct and critique as something of an indecent betrayal.[57] In general, his team shared his disappointment.

An instance of what he would have liked the evaluation to be occurred in November 1977[58] when he more or less "cornered" the, then, evaluation team, Jenkins, O Connor and Kemmis into a session at which his own persuasive point of view was so much to the fore that Kemmis adjudged there could be no more such sessions unless the evaluation wanted to be entirely assimilated with the project's own self view. While opinions differed on this, an unconscious decision was reached at this point to avoid overtly friendly contract with the project team. Issues it was felt, were far too sensitive already, and time was far too short for the evaluation to tolerate without absorption, the saturation the director would have liked to his own and the team's point of view.

One instance of rhetorical acknowledgement is worth quoting in the whole context of defining the causes of aberrant acceptance. This has been mentioned previously. (ch. 3.5.6.). The Directors Final Report of SCSP gives it a new significance. This was the question of the Derry 'Trails' programme. Briefly, to put the matter in context, Robinson had commenced with some Derry teachers a primary 'Trails' geography project. Assuming this to be something of a private fad of his own and permissible as such, the evaluation did not mention it in its Initial Reports. Indeed it did not see fit to do so in any of its subsequent reports since, in its view, the project was primarily concerned with curriculum development in second level education. Such at least is the understanding to be gleaned from Skilbeck's original submission and all subsequent documentation.[59]

Robinson seems to have been unusually distraught over this omission. Referring to it in his reply to the Final Report, Chocolate Cream Soldiers he says

> "the failure to seriously consider the contents of the primary school file, and the fact that this work was not deemed 'relevant' by one of the co-directors of the evaluation team strongly suggests a fundamental mis-conception of the project"[60]

He then goes on to accuse the evaluation of identifying the five years social studies programme with the project, and links other projects, including a "controversial issues" course in Magilligan prison by Jim McKernan, and one-off sporting events sponsored by the project, as being within his conception of the organic nature of the project's work.

The evaluation contended that a project which failed to deliver on its original remit and substituted, a five year social studies programme in its stead could be accused of displacement activity in concentrating on Primary Trails or whatever. This was largely accepted by the management committee and Robinson, asked to desist from Primary Trails had to find "alternative support" for the programme. This is looked on by Robinson[61] as a positive boon for SCSP though not in the way one would have expected, allowing more time and energy for renewed efforts in SCSP's own developmental patch. It allowed him to fully reinstate Primary Trails as an SCSP front runner.

If over-sensitivity to criticism is one of the causes of rhetorical acceptance of the evaluation product, it would, in the instance of Robinsons Primary Trails seem to be also marked by a fundamental insensitivity to the main thrust of the evaluation's critique.

6.5.4. The "Portrayal" or "Construction" of SCSP initially presented by the evaluation was seen as implicating the project team and its management in a misappropriation of the project

There can have been no doubt, after careful perusal, of what the main thrust of the evaluation's argument in the First Interim Report and in the Second Interim Report was. The project in its varied embodiments

and manifestations had misappropriated its original statement of aims and had become assimilated from a "second generation" curriculum development project with "minimalist reconstructionist" policies for curriculum development in Northern Ireland Secondary Schools[62] to a straight Social Studies Schools Council stereotype. The statement on this point was both explicit and dramatic in the project "portrayal" of the First Interim Report[63] and implicit and indicative in the Second Interim Report.[64]

On the question of project rationale the First Interim Report finds a major discrepancy between the conception behind Malcolm Skilbeck's original proposal (Education and Cultural Change June 1975), and the project's subsequent interpretations of its guiding premiss. It gave this rendition of Skilbeck's view of the divided Northern Ireland situation:

> "i) it is highly ideological, militant and aggressive
> ii) it is encapsulated and fixed
> iii) it is highly visible
> iv) it is 'thin' and 'translucent' lacking complexity and internal diversity.
> v) it is highly reproductive
> vi) its teachers actually participate in the reproduction to the extent, relatively, that they are 'naive bearers' of the culture, and are insufficiently reflective and reflexive about it."[65]

The report says that the project in effect "left Skilbeck's analysis on the shelf rather than on the table".[66] It needed to be fleshed out into explicit hypotheses showing elements such as school ethos, curriculum content and pedagogical style, focussed on key concepts such as separatism, distancing.[67]

> "Skilbeck's 'grand theory' linking cultural analysis through to pedagogy, if developed, would have offered a pedagogical rationale located in a 'world-view' of the problem...[68]
>
> In effect the different bits were increasingly developed separately, although from time to time cobbled together in the project's account of itself."[69]

The report notes that teacher as change agent in current thinking of the project is more restricted in its meaning than Skilbeck intended. "Curriculum" has become the primary agency of change and cultural renewal. Skilbeck had a wider community based premiss for action.

The report turns to institutional arrangements. Characterising what Skilbeck had anticipated by way of change as 'minimalist reconstructionist', it goes on to define what kind of change he foresaw emerging from the proposed projects activities.

> "If the school can create possibilities for interaction across the sectarian divide, encourage empathy, bring students and teachers together on common tasks, then it might create a climate of receptivity. Unlike a 'maximalist-interventionist' version of cultural reconstruction, the minimalist version does not see the school as having a primary role in promoting change. Schools can 'unfreeze' themselves a little, preparing to take advantage of any 'unfreezing' in society-at-large. The 'naive bearers of the culture' must be encouraged not to fail by default."[70]

Underlining the gradualness of this approach the report suggests that the sponsors initial expectations must be at a minimum.

> "A small but significant contribution is probably about all the sponsors can reasonably hope for."[71]

The institutional implications of this approach were evident in Skilbecks explicit intention to avoid 'massive materials' production'.[72] "The task was", the report states "to generate a reflective critique, but one that was community wide."[73]

But this intention was not reflected in the various project chiefs' approach. Young, had first bypassed the main intent concentrating instead on one-off extra curricular exemplars, such as student made films, boating festivals. Dineen, who replaced him, concentrated on group-based instrumental tasks such as local history materials, a development that evolved into a fully fledged course in social/cultural studies. The report concludes:

> "It is difficult to escape the conclusion that this became a displacement activity, allowing a retrenchment to the conventional wisdom of the teachers securing much needed unity (after the fragmentation and anomie of the Young era) around a manageable task. The schools contributed one individual to the cultural studies workshop. This collection of gatekeepers found the experience enhancing and rewarding: meetings at the university, held in school time, flourished. Not so the 'cells' back in the schools themselves or the between-school collaboration outside the workshop. Parents and social workers, too, were not particularly relevant to the newly-defined tasks. The project had become precisely what Skilbeck had tried to avoid, a modified centre-peripheral exercise on Schools Council lines."[74]

Sockett sought to reduce "the overemphasis as he saw it, on materials production", and to nudge the project in the direction of pedagogy, emphasising the development of "mutual strategy" as a vehicle for mutual understanding of purpose.[75]

Robinsons directorate conducted a consolidation exercise which had not resulted in the project taking a wider view of the teacher as an agent of change than the "pared down" one he inherited.[76]

The problems of development and dissemination arising in the area of the pedagogy are largely associated, the report says, with the somewhat ill defined 'values clarification process' which it endeavours to enshrine, and with the rather haphazard individualised method of development of the materials. The structure of the course is undetermined, and subject to variously used interpretations. Teachers faced with the need to reduce risk, for example, may see it as a new 'map' of knowledge, a quasi discipline, 'low status knowledge for the less able student.'[77]

> "There has been a tendency for teachers to attempt to reduce the risk rhetorically by re-defining the project as an (inadequate) support structure, a panacea, or a cargo cult."[78]

The Second Interim Report reminds the sponsors of what the evaluation called the project's "minimalist reconstructionist" commitment,[79] and notes some points and paradoxes of development arising out of Skilbeck's fairly negative appraisal of the Culture of Northern Ireland Schools. Possibly the best way forward, it is indicated, would be steady expansion rather than "any dramatic going public."[80]

Commenting on the danger of a mismatch between the assumptions of the project and those of the schools the report outlines four possible ways in which schools might be perceived as coping with "the troubles" of Northern Ireland, indicating the need for the project to identify its target schools.[81]

The evaluation, it is pointed out, found a "systematic and potentially weakening malfunction in the pedagogics". It says that this is due to a lack of clearly defined methodology, and to bad structural imbedding in the schools.[82]

Whatever positive and constructive suggestions the evaluation had to offer on these and other points, materials, inservice and other teacher training for example, were ignored in the wake of the evaluation's critique, which seems to have had a severely negative reception. The report notes reactions to the suggestions that the project go back to the drawing board, do a rethink on broadly similar lines to Skilbeck's "broad front" approach, attacking the problem of sectarianism on a school and community basis. It comments:

> "Views differ on this one. For example, Tom Cowan (Chairman Management/Consultative Committees) feels the strength of the project is its concentration on what it can uniquely achieve, feeling its energies should not be dissipated in daunting tasks that are fundamentally the responsibility of other agencies, or even the community-at-large. On the other hand there is evidence of cognitive dissonance in certain project schools where a potentially liberalising programme is being taught, seemingly without embarassment, in physical settings that evidence the

> worst kind of tribal exclusiveness and narrow sectarianism. The SCSP qua curriculum, isn't having much effect on desk-top graffitti."[83]

Concentrating on what the project could achieve, uniquely or not, seemed to be one way of ignoring the basic critique of the evaluation. Robinson sought to rationalise his position by saying that he would not be held responsible for what had been done by other directors.[84] He had inherited a materials producing project and felt that justified his keeping it that way. The realities of life at the coalface simply disqualified the evaluation's critique, wrongfooting it as academic, brilliant perhaps, but irrelevant.[85]

Representatives of the funding agencies tended to wash their hands of the affair. The record of the evaluation showed some positive headway being made, and some figures to prove it. Beyond that they had little interest in how the rationale behind what they had funded was being implemented. That question to them was academic. It was up to the project to achieve headway in whatever way it thought and found best.[86]

Thus those responsible for SCSP used three basic ploys to avoid the issues being raised by the evaluation's portrayal. These were; a focus on activity, more of the same, rationalising the problem as largely irrelevant and academic, and avoiding the moral and other responsibility for the conduct of the project's affairs.

These varied stances enabled the project management to accept the report while simply ignoring its findings. The management, director or team were not seen as being implicated in the misappropriation being levelled at the project by the evaluation.

6.5.5. The project sponsors wanted a bureaucratic evaluation which would endorse the project

The sponsors had already bailed the project out of trouble precipitated by Dineen's illness.[87] They had for the first time perhaps, the prospect of firm, capable and continuous management to see the project through to its dissemination phase. They wanted to continue funding through to this phase, and were looking for reasons which would enable them to do so. The last thing they needed at this point was a record of further failure.[88] On the contrary, they needed the kind of endorsement which a bureaucratic evaluation would give to enable them to disburse the funds they saw to be necessary.[89]

Thus although welcoming the evaluation, financed at minimal cost, the sponsors, in the persons of this representatives on the Management and Consultative Committees, while not opposed to the evaluation's critique were not fundamentally interested in it either. This enabled those more directly concerned with the conduct of the project, e.g. Cowan and Robinson, to avoid the factual relevance of the evaluation's critique.[90]

While accepting of the evaluation findings the sponsors thus would have been more inclined to listen to the noises of reassurance which the Committee's Chairman and the Project Director made, the impression of good management in the future short term being more crucial to their concerns than a long term record of past backsliding on the project's commitments. Thus the concern of management to promote present activities, doing best what the project was doing,[91] and to rationalise its problems to the point of discrediting the evaluation,[92] met a ready audience not fundamentally interested the kind of critique prepared by the evaluation.[93]

6.5.6. The Management Committee of SCSP had reservations about certain matters contained in the Final Report "Chocolate Cream, Soldiers" to which the evaluation gave thought

By the time the Second Interim Report was written in May 1978, funds had been made available to SCSP to continue its operations until 1980. Work continued on the processing of the Final Report during the Summer and Autumn of 1978. But it was not until the following Autumn that a version was ready for the Management Committee of SCSP.[94]

Tom Cowan, Chairman of the Committee then wrote to the Department, 10th Dec. 1979, stating that the final report had been considered by the Committee.

> "The Committee is of opinion that the report contains much that will be of value to the sponsoring bodies, the New University, the teachers engaged with the project and those professionally concerned with curriculum innovation and its evaluation. It has misgivings, however, about certain parts of the report which in its opinion could be hurtful to individuals and detrimental to further development of social and cultural studies, and to other parts which might be construed as political and could be similarly detrimental. Having heard the committee's view on these matters Professor Jenkins now wishes to reconsider certain sections of the report before submitting it to the sponsoring bodies and the New University."[95]

If the evaluation products continued to embarass the Committee, it was not now because of its possibly detrimental effect on funding. It was alleged that certain sections were not acceptable on grounds of their sensitivity. The evaluation was put under pressure to remove these from the report. The Committee considered an amended version of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers on 25/1/1980. A sub-committee reported to DENI with reservations on 17/4/1980.[96] The Department responded on 8/6/1980[97] stating it was not prepared to be associated with the report "as it now stands" and suggested modifications.

The evaluation had acceded to some suggested modifications. But when their final version had been considered "portrayals of persons" involved in SCSP were found to be inadmissable. Their inclusion was deliberate.

6.5.7. Examples of the kinds of statements objected to illustrate the evaluation's reasons for their inclusion, a new source of tension arises

An example of the kind of political issue in question was the suggestion, in a version of the report, to the effect that republican paramilitary groups in Derry had "passed" the SCSP materials as suitable to be taught in Catholic Schools.[98] This fact, if made public, would prove invidious to Protestant Schools taking or considering the SCSP materials, and could cause other political problems. (Robinson: "I suggest that this be removed before the Democratic Unionist Party and Dr. Paisley get wind of it. It could place the five years SCSP work in some danger." -annotation glossed to CCS draft.)

The evaluation's case for including it was based on the fact that only Catholic schools in Derry had taken SCSP. This had very serious implications in a project that had sought to bridge the sectarian divide. Clearly, selective usage of the project in this way was an open challenge to the credibility of SCSP. And the evaluation felt it was entitled to say so and make the statement stick in public. The evaluation did not wish to be adjudged according to which political side its statements favoured or damaged. Its orientation was a truth one. It felt it had to make statements about significant facts concerning SCSP and make them public whether they offended or not. Moreover the evaluation wanted to find out if such statments in reality would have the effect which it was thought they would have, even given the conditional reflexes in Northern Ireland about what the "other side" thinks. It was precisely such an

issue in evaluation reportage which it wanted to test in the sensitivities of the situation. It wanted to know whether an orientation to the albeit uncomfortable, truth was an automatic disqualifier, an equivalent evaluation malpractice in some circumstances.

An example of the second kind of issue was the "portrayal" of a teacher whose school, a one time secondary modern of which he was principle, had been amalgamated into a comprehensive establishment along with the local grammar type convent school. An SCSP devotee and one time project officer now become deputy head of the new institution, he found that his predilection for the project got short shrift in his changed situation. The academic credentials of the 'comprehensive' were not going to be impaired by accretions of novelty however fashionable. This teacher the report says

> "who did quite sterling work acquainting other schools with the ambiance, curriculum thinking and technical apparatus of SCSP, now faces a situation in his own school where discussion of controversial issues and other aspects of project pedagogy are no longer favoured."[99]

The report gives both the teacher's name, and the name of his school. The passage was objected to on grounds that it might prove 'hurtful'. In a letter to Jenkins, Sockett wrote: "You can be read as presenting him as a rather bolshie deputy head which can do wonders for his promotion prospects."[100]

Sockett's contention that such a portrayal might not be germain to the evaluation was resisted by the authors. The very principle on which evaluative portrayals of persons rests is that individuals influence decisions and that fact would have an important bearing on why in this case a trial school was reclassified as 'non participating'. The evaluation had already "toned down" the account enough,it felt, to

satisfy its critics. A curriculum evaluation exercise could not be turned into something else. The portrayal hypothesis had to run to the utterance.

Jenkins felt that the idea that he should "negotiate" the account with the individual concerned would prove unworkable. "There was too much sensitivity around and I would only be talking, not to him, but to the situation."[101]

But there was another reason for the evaluation to press these cases. The "liberalising" logic of the SCSP programme needed to be driven home. If SCSP had a stance which, in effect, required school children to adopt self-critical attitudes across the sectarian divide, the full force of that logic had to be faced by everyone concerned including the director, teachers and visible brass in the Department of Education. SCSP was asking serious and fundamental questions that simply could not be pushed under classroom carpets, they had to be faced ultimately by the whole society. Political reality could not on SCSP's own terms be veiled in expedience, in personal or local interest. Self criticism would have to apply not just to children in the classroom but to teachers, and in open forum. The evaluation wanted to bring certain realities home.

Hugh Sockett pointed out in his response to Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers that intolerance was endemic in Northern Ireland schools and in the society as a whole, that the liberalising stance of the project would be strongly resisted by both sides of the sectarian divide if it came over sharply.

But the divide itself was being endorsed by the very structures of Northern Ireland Schools which SCSP in effect was challenging. In the face of the somewhat corrosive resistance to change of mind and heart, a change which the SCSP wanted to achieve, somebody had to peg the project

at its points of no return and claim support for it from the middle ground of ordinary people, a constituency which it largely had to create for itself. It was ironic that in pressing its own hypotheses of liberalization on the project, the evaluation found hard core resistance coming, not from the teachers or children, but from within the management of SCSP itself.

In this crunch conscience issue of the project, the evaluation considered the endorsement of the University as crucial to its own autonomy. SCSP was a high risk project of action research precisely tooled to take on key issues in Northern Ireland education, not in theoretic guise, but practically so as to change the Society. If this exercise were not to be seen as subversion, its policies had to be endorsed and had to be seen to be endorsed by the institution which had initiated and which housed the project. Half statements about the University's own involvement could not publicly run as whole truths.

Thus the source of tension had altered. While it could be said that rhetorical acceptance of the First Interim Report had to do with the urgent need for further funding for the project, now another cause of exacerbation had arisen. The evaluation was encountering resistance to the publicisation of what it considered in effect the project's own liberalising logic, on grounds that such notice would offend. The sensitivities of the situation were rather to dictate the choice of context and the style of evaluative reportage.

6.5.8. The evaluation's stand is in effect rejected. Its final non-negotiable version of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers is not published, largely because it was thought to hurt certain individuals

The 'denoument' of the drama which developed around these issues took place in what Jenkins calls "A Tale of Two Meetings". The first November 5th 1979[102] was a meeting of the Management Committee with Jenkins and O Connor (both, Jenkins asides, symbolically left without knives at the pre-meeting lunch)[103] held at the University in Coleraine. Professor Joe Nesbitt director of the Education Centre was also present. Tom Cowan, Management Committee Chairman, announced at first that a 'long and complex discussion' had taken place at the earlier morning session (Sockett, 'nit picking' 'concerned with procedures'),[104] the major upshot of which was that three copies only of the report were to be issued, one each to the University, the DENI and JRCT.

> "Any wider circulation would have to be 'subject to two conditions', the 'deletion of references to individuals unless agreed', and the deletion of statements that in the view of the Management Committee might be 'detrimental to the Department, the Trust, or the Project'."[105]

Jenkins pointed out that the evaluation team, not the Trust, the Project or the Department, were, from the start, responsible for the products, it was negotiating merely for accuracy and fairness.[106] This was denied by Cowan who held that the sponsors 'owned' the evaluation.[107] Sockett and Nesbitt supported the independence of the evaluation report, though the latter, who had previously quashed its circulation as an occasional paper of the centre, felt that nothing "detrimental to the University" should get out in a published report.[108] Jenkins found this was a weak statement. "The evaluation saw the conduct of the sponsors as lying within its legitimate range of interests."[109] Nicholas Gillett (JRCT) agreed ("I would be worried if the report was so bland it worried

nobody").[110] Alan Robinson was still unhappy. He did not want the report to land unrevised on the desk of "an uncommitted headteacher in Belfast."[111] Jenkins taking up the point, suggested a limited circulation to trial schools with the possibility of Alan Robinson contributing to a book on the project later on. From then on the meeting became affable and open, Tom Cowan coming in line with the Trust, Gillet putting his weight behind the eventual 'reconciliation'.

> "Both sides fibbed that the original clash was a misunderstanding,[112] a trick of the shifting light. It was a big step for the evaluation; although doubtless a tiny step for mankind."[113]

The second meeting took place at Stranmillis College of Education June 24 1980.[114] The meeting was convened "to convey something of the Permanent Secretary's displeasure at the final draft of Chocolate, Cream Soldiers." Ivan Wallace, Principal Inspector of the Department who opened the batting stated firmly the purpose of the meeting "what action needs to be taken and can be taken to make the report one that the Department can associate itself with and endorse."[115] The evaluators expressed concern, "but made it clear it neither sought nor required the Department's endorsement and did not need its approval."[116] As the arguments circulated around the issues, the Department's main concern seemed to focus on the portrayals of previous project officers.[117] Jenkins had released some copies inadvertently and the reaction in some quarters had been pretty strong apparently. Chairman Cowan remarked concerning one of the subjects of the portrayals that "he both knocked me down and walked big boots all over me."[118] Clearly the Department were running scared.

The critical point in the discussion came after Jenkins recounted one head teacher's supposed complaints. "When he rang me he said he had heard the rumours and reacted, but when he read the report he enjoyed it and could find no objections to what had been said about himself and his school. It was all fair comment." He went on:

> "Our line on this is clear. We are not seeking endorsement for the report and to that extent we can't be expected to collect sensitivities indefinitely. The evaluation is independent it has a truth orientation as well as a feel for audience. It has a responsibility to the craft and must compile an account of the project which is truthful for the different audiences."

Tom Cowan (Chairman Management Committee)
> "The management committee would favour a truthful account, we merely regret that you found it necessary to hurt certain individuals in certain ways."

Tom Shaw (Management Committee DENI Representative)
> "I find all this personalization difficult to accept, even if it were complimentary comment I still could not accept it, as schools and individuals were capable of making misconceptions, misconstructions or misinterpretations of such explicit statements I would seek total anonymity for the report."

Alan Robinson (Director SCSP)
> "I am deeply concerned about the future of the project. One school for instance, where I had hoped to restart the project, has closed down against it as a result of the report. It seems unreal to expect people to react in a rational way in view of the public nature of the document and the real sensitivities of the Northern Ireland situation."

Ivan Wallace (Principal Inspector DENI)
> "The report more than grates it offends."

David Jenkins (Director SCSP evaluation)
> "I have a different guess to yours of the effects of all this. I think the whole thing has been exaggerated and an unreal problem created to which you are over-reacting."

Ivan Wallace
> "I am talking about a reaction that has been there."

David Jenkins
> "But are you sure that it is not all a nine day hot air wonder?"[119]

Eventually the Department climbed down and requested Jenkins to reconsider. He however insisted "we can't have a politically neutral report for a politically sensitive project" Ivan Wallace suggested that Robinson and Cowan meet with Jenkins, and taking this as an "amicable conclusion" Cowan closed the meeting.[120]

But such meetings as were held brought no change. The sponsors, especially DENI yielding to some obvious pressure from certain quarters effectively blocked publication of the evaluation's Report.

6.5.9. 'Chocolate Drops' was not an innocuous 'Summary' of 'Chocolate Cream Soldiers' but a 'trailer' to the real thing which seemed to satisfy everybody

Early in Autumn 1979, Jenkins suggested to Nicholas Gillet of JRCT that he himself and O Connor come to explain the evaluation to the Trustees.[121] The reply from A. Wallis, Assistant Secretary[122] declined the offer but suggested a "concise summary on a 'man in the street' level" that would be useful to Heads of Schools in Northern Ireland, DENI and Teacher Training institutions, and finally to the Trust. This request went largely ignored until May of the following year when Tom Shaw, the DENI representative on the SCSP Management and Consultative Committee wrote to Jenkins (22nd May 1980). At issue was the appointment of a Coordinator for the SCSP, to be made the following September.

It was given as the view of the Northern Ireland Schools Curriculum Committee where the matter was being considered, that neither it nor its successor, the Northern Ireland Council for Educational Development, would approve the proposal "in the absence of evidence drawn from the evaluation study."[123]

Jenkins' view at this time was that the larger report was being negotiated, and that the shorter report could be, perhaps, circulated as a "trailer" to the real thing. He described its advent as "Wooden Horse of Troy"[124] with the controversial elements removed but with its analytic critique of the politics and deviant history of the project intact.[125] It would retain also the substance of assessment the evaluation had made of the problems of pedagogical implementation and of the flawed nature of the projects' social networks.[126]

Jenkins was still intent on nailing the evaluation's colours to the mast. Seeing this as a 'rival' product, the management view of what the report should look like, he called it Chocolate Drops, a milder milkier variety which he associated with Cadburys.[127]

Writing about Chocolate Drops Robinson says

> Its appearance was welcomed by the Management Committee which had justly committed itself to providing participating schools with an evaluation report of some kind. As it indicates 'what might be learned from the experience of the Schools Cultural Studies Project and how its legacy might be digested by principals and teachers in the province', that is, 'be built upon', and as it is less controversial than its parent report, the document was also welcomed by the Northern Ireland Council for Education Development who were considering a proposal made by the Association of Teachers of Cultural and Social Studies[128] for a teacher to be seconded for a period of two years to act as Co-ordinator.[129]

Whatever the intentions of its authors, Chocolate Drops was well received. By the time it was circulated perhaps sufficient time had elapsed for the main evaluation critique to have sunk in. A more sober reappraisal of the thrust of the evaluation was evident by 1980.[130] By 1981 ex-Director Robinson was exhorting readers of his Director's Report to read it in conjunction with the banned and discredited Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers.[131]

6.5.10. The Final Report Chocolate Cream Soldiers was a 'portrayal' of SCSP hence not technically practical in Schwab's "art of the practical" sense. Within the confines of the exercise the evaluation sought to be as useful as possible in responding to needs knowing that there was a mismatch between its provision and project expectations

In his Director's Report[132] Robinson remarked:

> The Management Committee in general and the Department of Education in particular expected to receive an evaluation report which was more objective and bureaucratic; they looked for a statement on their enterprise and sought evidence upon which to base decisions. The bulk of the Project's membership on the other hand expected to be involved in an evaluation which would be more democratic; while the full-time members got on with the job of consolidation and dissemination the teachers in participating schools wondered what was going on - both felt used.[133]

The matter of the bureaucratic expectations of management had been touched on previously (above 6.5.5.). The evaluation at no stage sought to provide the sort of 'objective' 'bureaucratic' information which management wanted.[134] Its 'portrayal' was meant to respond to other assumed but unquestioned management concerns[135] such as how funding made available for one interest and purpose is put to manifestly contrary use.[136] Thus the evaluation, in attempting to be 'responsive' was taking its own view of and using its own techniques to detail management concerns.

It was not providing a specifically democratic evaluation either for team members or teachers.[137] The scope of the service it hoped to provide was autocratic and,[138] as Sockett rightly points out "basically judgmental."[139]

The SCSP evaluation was not designed as a friendly exercise. In the opinion of Jenkins to have attempted such would have, in the intense sensitivities of the situation, absorbed the evaluation into the project team's concerns, locked in within the project's self view of the

situation.[140] Such a tender minded approach as Robinson and his team desired[141] would, in the opinion of the evaluation, have proved in the long run less useful than what was done - the cold hard look. Besides, time and money were too short for evaluation as demanded.

Secondly, the evaluation made it perfectly clear from the outset that it had its own agenda.[142] It was testing out a number of working hypotheses about evaluations.[143] Some of them concerned with the very issues which the management would rather it did not touch.[144] At root it was a theoretical not a practical exercise. This had been agreed, but apparently insufficiently spelled out to, and insufficiently understood by the management.[145]

As it was, the evaluation made brave, and, as can be understood, useful efforts to be helpful. When the "snapshot" idea of getting a quick picture of the project, using numbers of fieldworkers and specialised perspectives, produced an "information overload", the evaluation sought to service the management at critical decision points with two interim reports.[146] When the final evaluation report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers became too controversial for the sponsors and management, Chocolate Drops was produced to satisfy a need.[147]

The problems arising out of an issues based critique may or may not be relevant to decision makers trying to find the problem in the project about which they have to make a decision.[148] The "construction" of the theoretical analyst here may be relevant, but it may only become so to the management if he implants it clearly within the configurations of the problem with which the decision makers are concerned. To do that the evaluator must first have discovered what that problem is. Portrayals of projects do not of themselves provide it.[149] Their principles and investigative procedures are essentially theoretical.[150]

Judged by a Schwabian criterion, the SCSP evaluation was very weak in its investigations of managements' concerns. Robinson's and the team's reactions demonstrated that they wanted to share their own view of SCSP with the evaluation. Methodologically speaking, within their own frame of reference, that is correct. At one crucial and definitive point in the process the evaluation refused to treat of Robinson's own and his team's concerns, deciding to hold no more meetings between the evaluation team and the project team. Kemmis in particular had objected to pursuing sessions with the team. Its personnel were, he thought, overly sensitive and extremely vulnerable.[151]

The data which Robinson and his colleagues might have provided in such sessions, the evaluation did not consider entirely relevant to its own focus, and that because of a selective prejudgement. Its view was that its primary task in a difficult and sensitive situation was to produce a portrayal-type critique of the project which might be thought hard hitting, but which would be accurate and fair, scoring on the side of objectivity rather than sensitivity. The project people may have felt bruised and the sponsors aggrieved that the evaluation decided to chop rather than chivy. But all got a lot of valuable and useful information at practically no cost to themselves except, perhaps, an injured image. The record shows that many of the suggestions made by the evaluation, in abandoning momentarily its "non recommendatory" stance, were taken on board by the project. And this has done noone discredit at all. Management and Sponsors may have preferred a different approach. But from the outset the evaluation, for its own purposes chose a critique type evaluation, adopting a critical rather than justifying stance throughout.[152]

6.5.11. Alan Robinson and Project Officer Jim McKernan produced "dossiers of evidence" against the evaluators. Robinsons Director's Report was intended as a Rival Product. These and other actions can be interpreted as counter denunciations attempts to negate a perceived derogation exercise.

Both Robinson and McKernan in written responses to Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers attempted to discredit the professionalism of the evaluators by pointing to methodological inadequacies in their stance and in their procedures, as though by doing so they would lower the authenticity and credibility of the evaluation and perhaps justify ignoring the thrust of the evaluation's critique.

Robinson finds the Final Report bulky and inappropriate for principals whom he would have considered a primary audience.[153] This would have indicated a basic miscalculation of the evaluation as to the appropriate audience for its Report. He appoints to "a pearl in the evaluative oyster", some words of praise for SCSP in chapter ten.[154] This suggests that the whole approach of the evaluation has been overly negative.

Robinson next complains of inattention to the Primary Trails and other "broad front" initiatives.[155] He does not accept the evaluation's view that these were 'loose ends' picked up in the projects' operation. He suggests they were the product of his own encouragement of individuals' and teachers' initiatives.[156] The "broad front" had not been abandoned, he contends, on the contrary it was part of a rightly conceived policy presently in operation which the evaluation had not allowed.[157]

He considers the evaluation wrong in their conclusion that the project was not school based. The materials had largely been produced by teachers.[158] And many teachers felt that the "materials producing workshops" were a highspot of corporate effort.[159]

He feels that the evaluation is wrong in its interpretation of the pedagogy.[160] In participating classrooms pedagogical hypotheses have been tested and "bold experimental work done."[161] Emphasis has been placed on school planning periods and teacher support.[162] These statements, based on his own "updated" experience contradicted the basic findings of the Report.

Finally Rcbinson considers some methods used by the evaluation to have been unprofessional. The evaluation lacked an adequate period of observation,[163] used questionable allocations in apportioning the workloads of observers,[164] did not give an account of an "ideal" trial school,[165] inadequately represented project personnel not on the team,[166] had no references in the text to files or field notes,[167] did not hang "like wallpaper" round the Central Teams' offices,[168] and cut corners with its questionnaire, not piloting it or producing it even as an appendix.[169]

McKernan finds the evaluators naive and inadequately briefed and acquainted with the literature on values clarification curriculum development.[170] He then develops five models of values education, notes originators and authors, each model "with a theory and a pedagogy", and states that they are "strong models for curriculum."[171] He implies in this that the evaluation had not done their homework and were thus ill versed to criticise as they had done.

McKernan takes up the evaluation observation that the values clarification process, qua pedagogy, was not reflected in the project's teaching practice.[172] He admits the fact but contests the evaluation's

charge that this was due to the flawed process itself.[173] He holds that the failure was due to inadequate briefing by project central team, and to misunderstandings of the teachers.[174] There is, he contends, plenty of research evidence demonstrating the appropriateness of the pedagogy behind values clarification, of which research apparently, the evaluation is unaware.[175] Dewey is misquoted, he alleges, in the text of the report, and treatment of the great philosopher in the Report, McKernan holds, is inappropriate and unfair.[176]

Finally McKernan indicates that he would have liked to be helped "to see the process in action" in an illuminative evaluation which he feels this was not.[177]

Thus Robinson and McKernan in their written responses to the Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers, while rhetorically acknowledging some of its insights set out to discredit the evaluative stance undertaken in it. They characterised it as overly critical and inadequately briefed.

Robinson in particular sifts his way through a variety of methodological flaws in the 'hit and run' exercise questioning the Reports scientific authenticity and other supposed claims to credibility and internal validity.[178]

These views and the way they are presented in the written replies, seem more like attempts at counter denunciation. They evince the feeling that the primary purpose is to reduce the status of the evaluation by denying it professionalism and authenticity, and according it scientific incompetence and amateurism.[179] They also smack of self justification and of a refusal to consider the basic arguments of the report.[180]

Alan Robinson in his reply to Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers, contends that the Report only gives the evidence of the condition of the project in Spring 1978, and does not represent a picture of the project "at the

end of its funding" (Spring 1979)[181] Notwithstanding that most of the data of the evaluation was collected in Autumn/Winter of 1978, he contends that "only the director" can give that complete picture.[182]

His Director's Report published in 1981 does in fact bring the project up to 1980 the end of its final funding.[183] But Robinson had early heralded his intention of producing the definitive Report on SCSP.[184]

Although he intends it, he says, to complement the evaluation,[185] the document in no way attempts a critical appraisal and could be seen as an attempt to 'set the record straight', with regard to his own and the projects' performance.[186] This then is a bureaucratic document specifically written to present the project in the best possible light.[187]

The SCSP Director's Report refers to the evaluation Final Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers mostly in a ten page account at the end. In it he states his intention of contributing to a study of the "impact of evaluation on curriculum innovation".[188] But the characterisation of Chocolate, Cream Soldiers, contains nothing that demonstrates evaluation as the subject of "an ongoing study and debate".[189]

While the evaluation's critique of SCSP gets mention in a few lines in the "evaluator's corner" of Robinsons report,[190] there is no mention of it in the general corpus of the work of its total impact[191] though on his own admission this had been not inconsiderable.[192]

Beyond a suggestion that the evaluation's Final Report might be usefully read alongside his own, he makes no concessions to it other than to quote from it passages which might be thought to enhance the project[193] and favour his own SCSP predilection,[194] the ignored Primary Trails programme. He compares the stance of the 'independent' evaluation of SCSP unfavourably with the evaluation of Trails.[195]

These, it is argued are all responses to evaluation perceived as a degradation exercise. They demonstrate the project's attempts to reinstate its self-esteem by ignoring the evaluation product as much as possible, by using statements out of its own month to highlight praise and rhetorically disprove criticism.

But Robinson not only ignores the evaluation as a "subject of ongoing study",[196] he goes out of his way to characterise its authors as socially deviant, deliberately disaffecting his own work and making life more difficult on the project.[197]

This last is clearly implied in the weight given in the Report to the fact that Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers had not been sanctioned by the Department of Education or by the University.[198] The establishment had, one would have thought, clearly endorsed Robinson's view that the report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers was "out of line".[199] Its reporting on politically sensitive educational issues and its portrayals of named persons were considered to have fallen below acceptable standards by the powers that be.[200] This was sufficient apparently for Robinson to characterise the evaluator's stand on disreputably bad minded.[201]

The altercation with the sponsors DENI and the JRCT was not seen as a conflict over crucial meanings with rights of statement and reply on either side.[202] The "null hypothesis" that put in certain situations of risk the SCSP management would not act in accord with its own rhetoric had received positive confirmation.[203] Yet this is not adverted to by Robinson.[204] The matters of circumstance, rather than principle, to which he appeals[205] seem to justify him in classifying the evaluation's conduct as deliberately deviant.

This reaction can hardly be seen to be what it professes - a serious study of evaluation as an ongoing process. It can instead perhaps be suggested that it is a reaction to evaluation seen as a

derogation exercise,[206] to which degradation the Final Report is an antidote[207] the justificatory tone of which is scarcely veiled in its treatment of basic evaluation concerns.[208]

6.6. Summarizing the foregoing analysis in the light of the APM and considering the hypothesis concerning the causes of APM type reactions derived from the CVM it would appear that these hypotheses receive positive confirmation in the SCSP evaluation

6.6.1. The SCSP evalaution evoked APM type reactions

Many evidences of APM type reactions are apparent in the foregoing analysis of the SCSP evaluation. These may be recalled to mind in a concluding summary.

The evaluation found it had to resist attempts by the project management to enter into a collusive cooptive relationship.[209] There was an overt attempt to renegotiate the publication terms of the 'contract' of the evaluation at Stranmillis June 24th 1980.[210] At least one product, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers was rejected,[211] and the evaluation team had to distance itself from the project team on fear of being coopted.[212] Some products were 'welcomed' as providing insights, a rhetorical acknowledgement which totally divorced the evaluation, at the time of the refunding, from any consultative role in the decision making process.[213] Robinson accepted a decision of management which endorsed the evaluation's view of his Primary Trails project as outside the scope of SCSP.[214] He subsequently had it reinstalled at the centre of SCSP.[215] Both Robinson and McKernan produced what could be classified as dossiers of evidence, documentation of alleged malpractice, by way of a counter denunciation.[216] And there was obvious use of the sensitivity of the 'high risk' Northern Ireland scene to get the evalaution to back down on

some of its "high risk" statements.[217] Finally Robinson produced a 'rival product'[218] designed explicitly to be set alongside the evaluation as a more appropriate, "more complete" version of the project.[219]

6.6.2. The SCSP evaluation would seem to confirm the hypotheses previously enunciated[220] concerning the causes of APM type reactions to evaluation products

In accordance with the previous (ch. 5) analysis of the causes of APM type reaction[221] different aspects of the evaluation product, actual or potential, may seem to activate different kinds of APM type reactions, but not uniformly or in all cases from the same source or cause.

Robinson and his team in seeking a more collusive relation with the project team were endeavouring to convince the evaluation of a totally different mode of operation to its own adopted stance,[222] one that would "take them through the issues" of the evaluation with least damage to themselves.[223] It is obvious also that they were trying to "ward off" a threatening high risk evaluation such as the one that they got.[224] In reaction, the evaluation was forced to distance itself from the project team in order to protect the integrity by which, in the sensivities of the situation, it sought to give its own type of evaluation without being pressurised by any of its audiences.[225]

Thus it is clear that the cause of these APM type reactions, collusion/cooption, distancing must be that the evaluation was giving a portrayal of the project, representational and causal,[226] which the team did not want. Adopting an autocratic stance which the team found inappropriate for its needs and therefore of questionable value to it, the evaluation produced a freak if not a monster for the team, just the opposite to the "democratic evaluation", which Robinson and his associates had hoped for and sought.[227] Robinson in endeavouring to

'absorb' the evaluation team into his own views, found himself if anything, more distanced from an 'independent' evaluation which was trying not to wet its feet in the project's sensitivities.

In the "renegotiation of contract" and in the virtual "rejection" of the product Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers[228] the sponsors were reacting to matters in the report, which while not substantive issues, were deemed by them to be crucial to their own position,[229] damaging to their future standing in the teacher community and to the possibility of future curriculum development and evaluation in Ulster.[230]

Thus in failing to acceed to the wishes of the establishment, the evaluators proved themselves not really interested in the configurations of the problem as seen by the administration, but were insistent on giving their perspective on certain aspects irrespective of whether the project, its sponsors, its administration or management would have felt damaged or not.[231]

Whatever the official view was, the evaluation felt that because it had its own "truth orientation" and obligations to a "wider" community of evaluators, to teachers and the general public, it should not be situation bound by Departmental and other constraints arising out of the operating context of the project.[232]

In the case of the University it was felt that some aspects of the Report Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers would, albeit perhaps wrongly,[233] be seen as reflecting on the University[234] and so it could not be endorsed from that quarter either.[235] Although this weaker rejection did not so much reflect on the character of the product as such, it did however lead to the conclusion that the report in containing certain aspects unacceptable to the DENI, was not a product worthy of endorsement by the University which housed the SCSP project.[236]

Taking these APM type reactions, (renegotiation, rejection), together therefore it is apparent that their causes were a clear conflict between the expectations of the audiences and what the evaluation was intent on presenting. Certain features of the evaluation product were totally unacceptable to the bureaucratic audience, yet necessary for inclusion according to the evaluators.[237]

Although the bureaucratic audience may have accepted the style and scope of the autocratic evaluation as valid, and would have acceded to its presentations as a non-bureaucratic, hence non justificatory evaluation product, nevertheless other features caused the administration to balk at and, finally refuse the product altogether.[238]

Unquestionably the key issue of the rejection was the fact that "portrayals" of project persons might prove "harmful" to the individuals concerned.[239] Although this was objected to as a matter of principle, it was clear that some individuals had been exerting considerable pressure on the Department and on Committee Members to have the "offending" parts removed.[240]

In the ideological clash over what was worthy of inclusion and what was not it was obvious that the sponsors were manipulating existing and potential sensitivities of the situation in order to exert pressure on the evaluators[241] to alter what they for their part clearly saw to be matters of wrong methodological principle in presentation,[242] commitment to which had been one of the features of the evaluation.[243] This conflict was not resolved, although several attempts were made to cover it up, or say it did not really exist.[244]

Thus the evaluation's dialogue with the sponsors failed to resolve the basic conflict over what should feature in an evaluation product and what should not.[245] The rift between opposing viewpoints had been to an extent narrowed,[246] but the basic source of conflict, rival expectations of product, remained.[247]

A rhetorical acceptance of at least parts of the report, Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers belies a fundamental mistrust and suspicion of the evaluation's basic stance and a profound distaste of certain of its features.[248] This fact is also seen in the reactions to the First Interim Report and Second Interim Report where the "professorial language" and the issues presentation were not genuinely attended to by a management explicitly looking for endorsement either in the form of clear statements of what the project was best doing,[249] or figures to back up a case for further extension of the programme.[250]

The evaluation was not considering the management and sponsors' requirement, a practical assessment of the project in terms of management configurations of its problems.[251] The evaluators rather were pressing their own eventually rejected model for the SCSP evaluation.[252] Their refusal to resolve the conflict in terms of the management requirement was the ultimate cause of the failure of the evaluation to achieve closure on its product, final publication.[253]

It is clear from the exchanges at meetings that there was an overt attempt by various Committee members to denounce the evaluation as wrong minded and deviant.[254] The rival ideology was not considered as fundamentally valid.[255] Instead featured evidences of it were regarded as offensive, and simply wrong.[256] Although no dossiers of evidence were produced to accuse the evaluators of mal-practice, the documented

evidence from the product Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers was sufficient to characterise the alleged offensiveness of the product as deliberate and unworthy.[257]

More formal, lengthy and complete documentation was produced by Robinson and McKernan which clearly shows that they both produced dossiers of evidence and engaged in a formal ritual counter denunciation.[258]

Robinson moreover wrote a "rival" product designed to reinstate the project and justify its own self view, and to characterise the evaluators as unworthy of consideration as scientists conducting an expert exercise. His implication was that evaluation directors Jenkins and O'Connor were bad minded and deliberately deviant, and willingly destructive moreover of certain project activities.[259]

These APM reactions premissed on a deliberate evaluation "put down" may all be considered as deriving from evaluation perceived as a degradation exercise, which perception may be said to have caused the reaction.

Finally, it may be said that the evaluation was conducted as "nodes" or "cusps" in the decision making process[260] which exacerbated the evaluative situation and contributed causally to the APM reactions.

During the deliberations leading up to the funding March/April 1979 there was a clear need in the management's mind for the evaluation to produce evidence favourable to the project,[261] and something akin to consternation and puzzlement ensued when it failed to deliver anything but apparently negative analysis to present to sponsors as evidence for further funding.[262]

The situation was crucial, in that a further injection of funds would have been dependent on the sponsors having a favourable view of the project.[263]

There was exasperation evident in the controversy over the Final Report.[264] Eventually delivered in early Spring 1980, feelings over its "depressingly" negative tone and critical vein, gained a new impetus since the Interim Reports.[265] The evaluation it was thought, was not alert to the sensitivities of the situation.[266] Official concern was expressed that individuals might be 'hurt.'[267] This amounted to a total rejection when rumour and "principled" retaliation began to be felt in the Department. Frustration over the non appearance of the report and concern over another decision to be made about a new appointment to the project, further exacerbated the situation. No appointment would be considered "in the absense of evidence drawn from the evaluation study."[268]

Thus the negative feelings could be said to have indeed resulted from the fact that misunderstandings occurred at critical "nodes" in the history of SCSP[269].

In thus revisiting the hypotheses in the light of SCSP, the intention is not so much to "prove" the hypotheses explored in the previous chapter as such, but to demonstrate that inherent in any evaluation situation which is endeavouring to conduct, for whatever purposes, a critique of a project there can arise certain situations of tension which can cause the Appearance of APM type reactions.

In the case of SCSP, it would appear that the causes of these reactions were threefold. A mismatch between product orientation and more "practical" valid expectations, a mistaken view of evaluation as an exercise in derogation, both of these causes occurring at times when critical decisions were to be made about the project, - in which circumstances it can be said APM type reactions were almost certain to occur.

First of all the evaluation and project team found themselves at profound cross purposes with regards to the conduct of the evaluation. This mismatch of expectation on the part of the project team caused on the one hand a rapprochement in the form of an APM type collective intervention by them, an attempt at cooption which produced an APM type reaction of distancing by the evaluation.

A lack of evaluation interest in or lack of over concern with the practical configurations of the project problems as seen by the project team, might be said to have been the direct cause of these reactions.

Secondly, in pressing its personal portrayals on the project sponsors, the evaluation involved itself in a conflict situation which resulted in APM reactions of manipulation of sensitivity, renegotiation of contract and finally rejection. Again there was a reluctance on the part of the evaluation to consider the practical implications of these portrayals for the project administrators. The evaluation preferred to keep to its own ideological line, that of committing sponsors and team to the logic of their own liberalising rhetoric.

Dossiers of evidence were prepared, counter denunciations, and a rival product was produced clearly indicating that project protagonists viewed the evaluation as a degradation exercise.

Lastly these reactions were exacerbated by the critical high risk Northern Ireland situation at points in the projects history that were crucial "make or break" situations.

Thus it can be said that in such critical 'nodes' a mismatch between product orientation and valid more "practical" expectations of different evaluation audiences, combined with a mistaken view of evaluation as a degradation exercise, brought about situations in which it can be said APM type reactions were almost certain to occur.

Chapter 6 references

1. cf. above 5.2.1. - 5.2.7.

2. cf. above 5.2.7, 5.3.1.

3. cf. above 5.6.1. - 5.6.4.

4. cf. above 5.2.7., 5.3.1.

5. cf. above 5.2.3.

6. cf. above chs. 3,4.

7. cf. above 5.2.7.

8. Professor Malcolm Skilbeck was at Bristol University before coming to the New University of Ulster, Coleraine, where he became Professor and Director of the Education Centre. Later he became Professor of Curriculum Studies at the London University Institute of Education. He is now Vice Chancellor designate Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, Australia.

9. Skilbeck M. 13/9/1973 Proposal for a school based/university linked project in cultural studies and ideological education in Northern Ireland schools p.1. (abstract)

10. Robinson, A. 1981. pp.29,30 also Basic Information Appendix III p.381.

11. op. cit. pp.30-32.

12. op. cit. p.31. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. p.1.

13. op. cit. p.7-15.

14. loc. cit. p.7.

15. loc. cit. pp.7,8.

16. loc. cit. p.10 Stephen Kemmis is now Associate Professor, Deakin University, Geelong, Victoria, Australia. Dr. Ann Breslin is Director Research and Development Central Maynooth University College, Professor Tom Anderson is at The Center for the Study of Reading, University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign.

17. ibid.

18. ibid.

19. loc. cit. pp.11,12.

20. Autumn 1979 - June 1980, and subsequently up to the production of the "Summary" Chocolate Drops Summer 1981. A stalemate then ensued. cf. above 6.5.8., 6.5.9.

Chapter 6 references

21. Robinson, A. 1981. p.353, pp.456ff.

22. loc. cit. pp.358,359.

23. Schools Cultural Studies Project: Interim Evaluation Report 27/2/1978.

24. Schools Cultural Studies Project: Second Interim Evaluation Report 2/5/1978

25. Appendix 1. O Connor, S. The Derry Workshop March 1978, cf. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. pp. 271 ff.

26. Appendix 2. Breslin, A. Testing for Moral and Civil Reasoning April 1978, op. cit. pp. 257 ff.

27. Appendix 3. Anderson, T. SCSP Pedagogy April 1978, op.cit. pp.156 ff.

28. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980.

29. "the major section as far as the ethnographic study is concerned" op. cit. p.13.

30. In Defence of Values Clarification. McKernan was Project Officer from 1976-1978. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. Section 6. p.309.

31. A Review of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers. Sockett was Acting Director in 1976 ibid. p.315.

32. Director's Postscript. Robinson was Project Director from 1976-1980. ibid p.321.

33. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. Chocolate Drops: A Short Report on the Rowntree/DENI Schools Cultural Studies Project June 1981.

34. Robinson, A. 1980 pp.359, 362 Jenkins circulated copies of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers among members of the evaluation community. Acknowledgements on file give unstinted praise from evaluators and curriculum experts ("most readable" "fascinating, useful" "beautifully structured and balanced"). Jenkins also used the report as a text with his graduate and other students at the Education Centre, N.U.U. cf. letter Cowan T. 30/5/1980 "The Management Committee has become aware that there has been another distribution..."

35. Notes on meetings, February, May 1978.

36. These feelings were later picked up independently by Robinson, cf. Robinson, A. 1980 pp.358,360 but cf. above 6.5.1. 6.5.2. 6.5.3. 6.5.4. cf. notes on meetings February, May 1978.

37. 27/2/ 1978

Chapter 6 references

38. Haire, T.A. Comments on Interim Evaluation Report by Mr. J.A. Haire, Field Officer on the Schools Cultural Studies Project 1975/7 14/3/1978.

39. ibid.

40. Wilfie Ridge, Field Officer, 1974-5. 1st interim Report Reactions Ridge, March 1978. File.

41. Haire, T.A. loc. cit.

42. Notes on Meetings February, May 1978.

43. cf. above 6.5.1. ref. 35.

44. Schools Cultural Studies Project: Second Interim Report

45. 2/5/1978.

46. op. cit. p.262,263.

47. Cf. notes on meetings February, May 1978
Cf. also O Conor, S. Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers An Intimate reflection 13/10/1979.

48. notes on meetings February, May 1978.

49. ibid.

50. Parlett, M. 18/12/1979 tr.scr. p.3. above, 4.5.1., 4.5.2.

51. Robinson, A. 1981. p.357.

52. ibid. Note especially the inclusion of Protestant Schools in the Derry Area 1979-80 pp.315,316 also pp.298, 299. Independent confirmation Robinson, A. cf. Robinson, A. 1981 pp.298-300.

53. Jenkins, D.R. The Reception of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers: notes of a meeting, 5/11/1979. file

54. Robinson, A. in Director's postscript cf. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. ch.17 p.326.

55. Notes on meetings February, May 1978

56. O Connor, S. Notes of a Rowntree Meeting: Stranmillis June 24, 1980 SCSP, file, p.4.

57. Robinson, A. op.cit. pp.359,360.

58. Notes on meetings, Nov. 1977.

59. Skilbeck, M. loc. cit. Cf. above 3.5.6. Notes of Meetings February, May 1978.

Chapter 6 references

60. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. pp.322,323.

61. ibid. p.323.

62. Skilbeck, M. loc.cit. pp.7-9 also SCSP Interim evaluation report p.5. Skilbeck, M. 1976.

63. SCSP Interim Evaluation Report qv. pp.3-6.

64. SCSP Second Interim Evaluation Report pp.5-11 Cf. also Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. pp.211-232.

65. loc.cit. p.3. Skilbeck's address to the Irish Association for Curriculum Development June 1975 was published in the Association's bulletin Compass 1976.
cf. also
Akenson, D.M. 1973.
Darby, J. 1976.
Darby, J. et al. 1977.
Malone, J. Crone, R. 1979.
Malone, J. Crone, R. 1983.
Murray, D. 1985.

66. loc.cit. p.4.

67. ibid.

68. ibid.

69. ibid.

70. loc.cit. p.5. cf. Skilbeck 1976.

71. ibid.

72. ibid.

73. ibid.

74. loc.cit. p.6.

75. ibid.

76. ibid.

77. loc.cit. p.24.

78. ibid.

79. SCSP Second Interim Evaluation Report p.2.

80. loc.cit. pp.5,12.

81. loc.cit. p.3, also Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. pp.20,21.

Chapter 6 references

82. loc.cit p.11.

83. loc.cit p.9.

84. Notes on meetings, February, May 1978. cf. also Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. pp.323,324,362 also Robinson, A. 1981. p.358.

85. ibid.

86. Notes of Meetings February, May 1978.

87. Robinson, A. 1981. p.31.

88. Notes on Meetings, February, May 1978.

89. ibid.

90. cf. Cowan, A. Robinson A. Suggested Development 1978-80 also above ref. 83.

91. ibid.

92. Robinson, A. in O Connor, S. Notes of a Rowntree Meeting, Stranmillis 24/6/1980 p.4.

93. cf. letter Wallis, A. 12/1/1979 "Some of our Trustees are professional people engaged in other fields than education and one could not expect them to make observations on the substance of the evaluation report."

94. The Management Committee Meeting which considered the report met on the 5/11/1979.

95. Cowan to Department 10/12/1979.

96. Robinson to Shaw 17/4/1980 cc. Jenkins.

97. The Department's response to Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers 8/6/1980 is contained in a letter from Cowan to Jenkins which also states that the Management Committee's views "do not differ materially from those of the Department"

98. cf. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. p.31.

99. op. cit. p.79.

100. Sockett to Jenkins 6/6/1980.

101. Notes 17/6/1985.

102. Jenkins, D.R. The Reception of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers: Notes of a Meeting 5/11/1979, file.

Chapter 6 references

103. Jenkins, D.R. 1984 also present at the meeting were Tom Cowan, Chairman, Alan Robinson, SCSP, Director, Barbara Rosborough SCSP Secretary, Professor Hugh Sockett Director ICE, NUU. Institute of Continuing Education, New University of Ulster. Nicholas Gillet, JRCT John Rowntree Charitable Trust, Tom Shaw DENI Department of Education Northern Ireland.

104. loc.cit. p.1.

105. ibid.

106. loc.cit. p.2.

107. ibid.

108. ibid.

109. ibid.

110. ibid.

111. ibid.

112. loc.cit. p.4.

113. ibid. cf. also Rex, J. 1980.

114. O Connor, S. Notes of a Rowntree Meeting, Stranmillis, 24/3/1980 SCSP, file. Present were Tom Cowan, Management Committee Chairman, Alan Robinson, Director S.C.S.P., Ivan Wallace, Principal Inspector, DENI, Tom Shaw, DENI, Nicholas Gillet TRCT.
Stranmillis is the location of a Teaching Training College in Belfast.

115. O Connor, S. loc.cit. p.1.

116. ibid.

117. loc.cit. passim.

118. loc.cit. p.7.

119. loc.cit. p.6.

120. loc.cit. p.9.

121. Wallis to Jenkins 28/11/1979.

122. ibid.

123. Shaw to Jenkins 22/5/1980.

124. notes 17/6/1985.

125. ibid.

Chapter 6 references

126. ibid.

127. ibid.

128. The Association had been proposed by Cowan and Robinson in Suggested Development 1980-1981 cf. above 6.5.5. ref. 90 cf. Robinson, A. 1981. p.323.

129. loc.cit. p.362.

130. cf. Management Committee's endorsement of the views of the sub committee appointed at its 25/1/1980 meeting. Robinson to Shaw 17/4/1980.

131. Robinson, A. 1981. p.362.

132. loc.cit. p.360.

133. ibid.

134. cf. Jenkins, D.R. The Rowntree Contract confidential paper CC3 26/10/1979, file.

135. cf. MacDonald 18/12/1979 tr.scr. passim also MacDonald, B. 1979 pp.29ff.

136. SCSP Interim Evaluation Report pp.3-10.

137. cf. above 6.5.3. esp. ref. 57.

138. Robinson, A. 1981 pp.359,360.

139. Sockett, H. Review of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers October 1979 in Jenkins, D.R. and O Connor, S. 1980. p.315.

140. Notes 17/6/1985.

141. cf. above 6.5.3. ref. 57.

142. Jenkins, D.R. 26/10.1979 above ref. 134. pp.1,2.

143. ibid.

144. ibid. p.2. par. (11).

145. ibid. p.1. par. (1) and final para.

146. above 6.4.1., 6.4.2., 6.5.1., 6.5.2.

147. above 6.4.4., 6.5.9.

148. Jamieson, I. 1984.

149. Stake, R. 1967 Schwab, J. 1980. pp.288ff.

Chapter 6 references

150. loc.cit.

151. above 6.5.3.

152. Robinson, A. 1981. p.252. The growth of cells in the schools (phase 3) might not be as logical or normal as one would suppose from Robinson's account. The evaluation 1978 had been very critical of cells and had suggested forms of detailed classroom/lesson analysis. Jenkins 26/10/1979 pp.1,2. Robinson, A. 1981. pp.357, 359.

153. Robinson, A. in Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. ch.17, p.321.

154. ibid.

155. loc.cit. p.322.

156. ibid. cf. also Robinson, A. 1981. p.358. "the (evaluation Final) report failed to grasp the organic quality of the project..."

157. Robinson, A. loc.cit. p.322.

158. loc.cit. p.324.

159. ibid.

160. loc.cit. p.325.

161. ibid.

163. loc.cit. p.326.

164. ibid.

165. ibid.

166. ibid.

167. ibid.

168. ibid.

169. ibid.

170. McKernan, J. in Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. ch. 16 pp.309-310.

171. loc.cit. pp. 310,311.

172. loc.cit. p.310.

173. ibid.

174. ibid.

175. ibid.

Chapter 6 references

176. loc.cit. pp.313.

177. loc.cit. p.314.

178. Robinson, A. McKernan, J. loc.cit. passim.

179. ibid.

180. ibid.

181. Robinson, A. loc.cit p.322.

182. ibid.

183. Robinson, A. 1981. pp.31,32,8,9.

184. Letter Robinson to Shaw 17/4/1980 cc. Jenkins, also Robinson, loc.cit. p.322.

185. Robinson, A. 1981. p.362.

186. op. cit. passim.

187. op. cit. p.32. a more obvious attempt at marking the official card. Although Robinson can be critical of the project's performance, he is careful to give a favourable interpretation by way of a balancing argument. His treatment of the project's more favourable reception in Catholic Schools in Derry is a case in point, it begs all sorts of crucial questions op. cit. pp.298,299,300.

188. Robinson, A. 1981. p.358.

189. op. cit. p.357.

190. op. cit. pp.358, - 361 does not deal with the interaction of the evaluation and project. After signalling evaluation criticism the rhetoric lapses back into justification.

191. Robinson, A. 1981. passim.

192. Jenkins, D.R. The Reception of Chocolate, Cream, Soldiers: notes of a meeting 5/11/1979 p.3.

193. Robinson, A. 1981 p.356.

194. op. cit. pp.357, 363-365.

195. compare op. cit. p.364 with pp.359, 360, and pp.358,359.

196. op. cit. p.358.

197. op. cit. pp.358,359.

198. ibid.

Chapter 6 references

199. ibid.

200. ibid.

201. ibid.

202. O Connor, S. Notes of a Rowntree meeting 24/6/1980 Stramillis, SCSP passim.

203. ibid.

204. op. cit. pp.358, 359.

205. ibid.

206. Garfinkle, H. 1956.

207. op. cit. pp.358,359.

208. ibid.

209. above 6.5.3.

210. O Connor, S. loc.cit. passim.

211. ibid.

212. above 6.5.3.

213. above 6.5.1.

214. Jenkins, D.R. O Connor, S. 1980. pp.252,253.

215. Robinson, A. 1981. p.357 (M.C. 78/4/1) pp.166-174.

216. above 6.5.11.

217. O Connor, S. loc.cit. passim.

218. Robinson, A. 1981. passim.

219. ibid.

220. above 5.6.1.-5.6.4.

221. ibid.

222. above 6.5.3., 6.5.11.

223. ibid.

224. ibid.

225. ibid.

Chapter 6 references

226. above 5.6.2.

227. O Connor, S. loc. cit. p.4.

228. loc.cit. passim.

229. loc.cit. p.2, and passim.

230. ibid.

231. ibid. p.1. "The evaluation" was working close to the frontiers of the field of curriculum evaluation and was conscious of the problems that such a stance might pose. It would listen and endeavour to acommodate itself to the requirements of the project and the Department, but it could not emphasise too much that the evaluation was an independent one and did not require the say so of the Department to communicate its findings."

232. ibid. and passim.

233. memo Nesbitt to Jenkins 31/3/1980 "...I wish to avoid the apparent endorsement by the University as an institution, of what might be misinterpreted as strictures on individuals"

234. ibid.

235. ibid.

236. ibid.

237. Jenkins, D.R. 26/10/1979 (above ref. 134) above 6.5.2., 6.5.4., 6.5.5. ff.

238. O Connor, S. loc.cit. passim. above 6.5.2., 6.5.4., 6.5.5. ff.

239. ibid.

240. ibid.

241. ibid.

242. ibid.

243. Jenkins, D.R. loc. cit. above 6.5.2., 6.5.4., 6.5.5. ff.

244. Jenkins, D.R. 5/11/1979 (above ref. 53) p.4.

245. O Connor, S. loc.cit. p.9 and passim.

246. ibid.

247. ibid.

248. loc.cit passim. above 6.5.2., 6.5.4., 6.5.5. ff.

Chapter 6 references

249. above 6.5.1.

250. ibid.

251. above 6.5.10.

252. ibid.

253. ibid.

254. Jenkins, D.R. loc.cit. passim. O Connor, S. loc.cit. passim. 6.5.4., 6.5.5. ff.

255. ibid.

256. ibid.

257. ibid.

258. Robinson, A. McKernan, J. in Jenkins, D.R., O Connor, S. 1980. ch.15 p.309, ch.17 p.321.

259. Robinson, A. 1981. passim. and pp.358.

260. above 6.4.1., 6.4.2. 6.5. passim.

261. above 6.5.1.

262. ibid.

263. ibid. and 6.5.5.

264. Jenkins, D.R. 5/11/1979, O Connor, S. 24/6/1980 passim above 6.5.4., ff.

265. ibid.

266. ibid.

267. ibid.

268. above 6.5.9. letter Shaw to Jenkins 22/5/1980.

269. above 6.5. passim.

7. Methodological Appendix

Although the method, as has been stated is progressively developed throughout the history of the thesis, the progression follows a clearly defined line of scientific inquiry. It begins with an emergent problem. It defines the problem as one of general application and significance. It collects instances and categorises them into a schema. It verifies the schema as adequate and comprehensive. Next the method explores the cause for the recurrent schema, and having defined hypotheses as sufficient and necessary conditions, verifies them in a given "experimental" case.

7.1. Identifying and formulating the problem

The problem arises out of the interaction between an evaluator, pursuing a certain evaluative process broadly defined as "illuminative", and certain of his audiences. This interaction is seen as negative and potentially damaging to the purpose and outcome of the process.

The problem is next seen as significant in that it attaches not just to one evaluator in a given situation pursuing a certain procedure in his investigation, it becomes verified as a fact of experience of other evaluators adopting similar approaches in different situations. As a factor of experience the problem seems emergent even irrespective of the evaluative stance, illuminative or classical, so as to seem indemic in the act of evaluation itself, not just a random occurrence or the result of a unique hyplay of forces.

Restricted by force of circumstance to occurrences within the illuminative tradition of evaluation the problem is next tackled empirically by collection of samples, and their classification. Instances of the negative interaction are collected, and their social and

political implications plotted in their relationship to certain more or less clearly defined categories. These categories are combined into a schema, which effectively patterns all possible occurrences of negative reactions to curriculum evaluation products in a pathology of such reactions - the Aggregate Pathology Model APM. The APM at this stage of the thesis is seen as a formulation, derived from experience by process of induction, and is the first and most fundamental insight into the data, the first coherent representation of the problem as a set of interrelated if differently viewed occurrences. It answers the question "what is it that is happening?"

7.2. Validating the formula APM

Although clearly derived from experience the formulation is in need of further verification. Although many evaluators may have experienced elements of the problem they may have responded with only partial insights of their own into its meaning. They may not have seen the totality of its significance write large as a compilation of many similar experiences of many other evaluators. Testing therefore the factuality of the schema becomes a different matter from asking did such and such a negative instance happen to you?

It therefore becomes a necessary next step in the investigation to bring the schema to a community of evaluators and to ask whether it represents a truly comprehensive, not partial, insight into the nature of the problem. This is done by visiting the evaluation community with the schema and noting their reactions to it. By compiling their responses to the APM, and their discussions on matters related to it, within the framework at the APM's categories in a way that gives it a full

endorsement or verification. This part of the investigation answers the question is this formulation an adequate statement representing all or most instances of what happens.

7.3. Analysing the cause of APM occurrences

The argument next moves to a new stage. Given that this is a pathology, and given that it is a full and adequate statement of what happens within a certain evaluative tradition, and given the generality and significance of the problem, what causes it why does it happen?

Concomitant Variation Analysis is a recognised method for comparing case studies in ethnography. It establishes the typology which underpins the comparison, formulates constants, and enables the study of subsets of cases as dependant or independant variables.

By using this process in comparing evaluation case studies the thesis establishes sufficient and necessary conditions for the appearance of negative reactions to curriculum evaluation products.

But again while these conditions are now viewed as having explanatory power, stating causes for problematic effects, they too need to be verified. Given that they purport to be explanations, how effective are they when applied to a real life case. Do they actually do as supposed, explain the data, the appearance of APM reactions. Given A B and C, do X Y and Z really follow?

The process of verification is an application of the stated conditions as hypothesis to a given evaluation case study. In this study the social and political reactions to evaluation products are viewed as subsets occurring as the result of a number of evaluative interventions. The occurrence of certain negative social and political reactions are verified as conditioned.

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7.4. Validity of the preferred methodology

The methodology just reviewed may be regarded as a valid empirical methodology for the following reasons:

a. It deals with sensible or visible consequences that can be observed or produced (Chapters 2,5)

The methodology proceeds from observed social phenomen, social and political difficulties as experienced in evaluation situations, and produces a quasi experiment based also on observation, designed to explain the phenomena in question. It differs from mathematical study which deals solely in insights, formulations, symbolic images, in that it adds observations, and experiment and has practical application to the field of evaluation.

b. It issues in premises or rules for the guidance of human activity (Chapters 3, 4)

The human activity here is that of curriculum evaluation. This is not a random spontaneous form of operation. It depends for its successful completion on analysis.

Thus when the activity fails or seems to fail in the proper pursuit of its goals, theoretical knowledge can step in to account for the failure to control, identify uncontrolled factors, determine their activity and influence, and establish the law that would hold if these factors did not interfere.

c. While dealing with the data of sense experience it seeks to understand the data and render it intelligible (Chapter 5)

The same data can provide a starting point for different lines of inquiry. An evaluation itself could be the object of different types of investigations - such as that often characterised by the catch phrase who

evaluates the evaluators? Thus the purpose of evaluation, evaluation as instrument, or evaluation as the operational cause of development, could all be the objects of inquiry.

But this inquiry is empirical in a different sense, it seeks the intelligibility of evaluation in such a way as to unpack the meaning of the activity itself, and to discover the laws of its malfunction and function. Secondly, the meanings which it seeks are hypothetical. It looks for possible explanations extrapolating from the observed data announcing them as possibilities that could be relevant to the functions and laws of evaluation. As knowledge extrapolating from the known to the unknown evaluative function, and grasping possibilities that might work as governing principles of good evaluation, it is science. As verification seeking the possibilities that are realised in fact it is empirical.

d. <u>The method while it seeks to discover laws of good operation, it may only use such laws as may be verified in the data of experience</u>

The general procedure followed in empirical science is a well marked pattern:

(1) observation of date

(2) insight into the date

(3) formulations of insights as schemas or sets

(4) verification of the formulation.

Our methodology follows this pattern in a two-fold way.

The APM is a formulation whose meaning is expressed, at least in the last analysis, by appealing to the data of sense. Thus when verification of the APM as formula is sought it is sought by appealing to those more likely to have experienced most if not all of its categories, i.e. those practiced in the art of evaluation. The actual impact of

experience on human feelings is the ultimate guarantee of the truth of the formulation. The insight/set in this case is related to the experience of it in a given community Chapters 1,2,3,4.

But when we started to extrapolate fromthe APM in order to discover the possible causes of it (Chapter 5) we were trying to related the model to the cluster of other similarly abstrated entities of whichit is a aprt and to discover how these inter-related with each other as parts to a whole. Thus those conditions which are posited as sufficient and necessary causes of the APM are themselves emprically established correlations, whcih form a comprehensible matrix of explanation seen as conditioning the whole malfunction of the APM. The relatedness here is not between the insights and the data of sense experience, but between insights themselves as implicitly defined and established in the data of experience.

Hence the method in the two major steps of its procedures follows the noted distinction in empirical science between experential, and pure or explanatory conjugates.

e. The method deals with process and hence is not subject to statistical verification

Statistical verification is concerned with events as happenings. It deals in instances and occurrences. Although instances and occurrences may themselves be the results of various processes, process as such cannot be considered as the object of statistical science. Hence in the explanatory section of the thesis there is recourse to the science which more appropriately deals with social process, - the science of ethnography. Concomitant Variation, Analysis, insofar as it relates to this thesis will be more fully dealt with in chapter 5. Our object here will be briefly and merely to establish its credentials. Concomitant

Variation Analysis, enabled the comparison of evaluation cases. This form of study is in the field of Structural Anthropology Levi-Strauss (1953), (1963), (1964), (1966), (1969), (1973), (1978), (1981), Kroeber (1953), Naroll and Cohen (1973). It was used, Eggan (1937), to chart such aspects of ethnographic work as changes in the kinship systems of American Indians, and was formally adopted by Durkheim, (1958), and Nadel, (1949), as a valid sociological method.

The chief attraction of concomitant variation analysis for us was that it enabled valid comparisons across widely differing cases, setting up constants, independent and dependent variables, in a manner not unakin to physical research methods, Clignet (1973). This was an advantage to the study of evaluation cases which tend to differ so widely in composition and design.

7.5. The value of the preferred methodology

Value is propounded as the good of order as the object of rational choice.

Our concern in the thesis is with good evaluation, and good evaluation has to do with the ordered development of the systems within which it functions.

So far its proper relationship to these systems has not been clearly established or acknowledged, generally among those involved in the process of development. To some its functions are those of the yearly audit, the accountability function, others afford it a descriptive or portrayal function, others still focus on self awareness, others on justification/recrimination.

It is perhaps not surprising to discover in this lack of clarity that there emerge some identifiable deviances which are not allied to or defined by a still undefined norm. The APM is a formulation of such deviances.

But the object of the study does not merely rest with formulation, it seeks to establish conditions in which these deviances occur, and to speculate about the norms or laws of proper evaluative function from which they may be said to deviate.

Thus the general thrust of the method is towards the intelligibility of evaluation itself, towards its proper ordering and regulation as object of rational choice of evaluators. Hence its value.

8. Main Conclusions of the Thesis

The main conclusions of the thesis are arrived at during the different stages of the argument. In the first place it is argued that there is a problem, sceondly that the problem is of general significance especially within the ethnographic field of evaluation process, but also outside it in the more traditional theoretical field. Thirdly it is concluded that the problem admits of a pattern or spectrum of occurrences, and that the pattern is generally accepted at least within the ethnographic community of evaluators. Fourthly it is concluded that the pattern being regressive negative and counter productive, a pathology, it must admit of a cuase, conditions necessary and sufficient for its occurrence, which if posited guarantee its happening and which is not posited will guarantee its not being there. Fifthly, more general conclusions are derived.

8.1. There is a problem

The starting point of any investigation is the identification of the problem. In this case the problem is identified iwthin the contours of interaction between the evaluation and some or all of his audiences. The problem is social and political, and is furthermore detrimental to the activity of evaluation as such.

The problem is social and political in that it affects on the one hand the relationship between the evaluator and his clients or audiences. It is political in that it affects the quality extent and nature of the political and other decisions made both about the evaluation an dthe project being evaluated. It is detrimental in that it tends to have negative effect on the purposes for which evaluation was recruited in the first place, in some cases removing it from the scan altogether.

8.2. The problem has general significance

The problem emerged during the conduct of an illuminative evaluation, subsequently it was concluded that many if not all evaluators within that investigative style either per se vel per alium had experience of it.

It is assumed that workers in the traditional, more statistical, objectives/results tradition, also experience the problem, but either had not adverted to it or were not aware of it. (On Chapter Four for example, quoting Adringa, evaluation and research are listed tenth and eleventh resepectively in a checklist of factors influencing politicians making important political decisions about educational matters). However for purposes of this thesis study the investigation is confined to those working in the illuminative or ethnographic field, since in their case

the problem, because of the "close in" nature of their work is more obvious being more acute, and, secondly, because they are thereby more aware of its significance and importance.

8.3. The problem has a spectrum or pattern of occurrences

The occurrences or instances of the problem when listed, examined and classified fall naturally into seven categories. This comprehensive formulation, an attempt to bring all or most experiences of negative or pathological reactions to evaluation products inside the framework of a certain categorical statement within which they naturally seem to fall, is verified as a full coherent and comprehensive statement by members of the ethnographic or illuminative evaluation traditions, (and perhaps by those of other traditions insofar as they are aware of the existence of the problem).

8.4. The Pathology APM admits of causes, conditions necessary and sufficient for its occurrence

The APM, although a matter of common occurrence among evaluators, so as to seem almost part of the exercise, cannot really be so endemic. No activity can have at its root counter principles that thwart the achievement of its purpose. Therefore we are dealing with principles either of exercise or application which reveal pathalogical tendencies with in the conduct of evaluation, not within the evaluation act per se. Looked at as a subset of evaluative activity within Concomitant Variation Analysis it would seem that there are three conditions for the appearance of negative social and political reactions to curriculum evaluation products.

One of these touches the evaluator as one who begins his work with hypotheses to prove, portrayals to make, or analyses to conduct which may or may not bear on the problem sets of those involved with the project being evaluated.

Insofar as information produced by this evaluation is seen to be irrelevant counter productive or dangerous to the further continuance of the project it will be seen as information not practical or useful to those being evaluated. Therefore the evaluator by producing information which is out of phase with the perceived evaluative needs of the audiences may be seen as having started from a wrong principle, a theoretical cut which has preempted the emergence of the self critical awareness, individual and corporate on which evaluation as an activity, either formative or summative seems primarily to depend for its effectiveness.

This would lead one to conclude that a primary task for the evaluation is to create the conditions for its own emergence.

The conclusion is that evaluation is a practical, deliberative activity per se, and that deliberative dialogue, concerning the nature purpose and problems of both the project and the evaluation must accompany my 'theoretical' investigation. This investigation must be conducted alongside deliberation and illuminate not preclude it as sometimes seems to happen.

Secondly, negative social and political reactions are focussed within the sociology of indignation as reactions to perceived threats which are part of the latent, not the overt function of evaluation products. An evaluation product may be seen by the recipient as potentially or actually degrading or demeaning him either as an individual or member of a group, and, typically, he may tend to reverse the process by either appropriating assimilating or ignoring the

evaluator, and if that cannot be done, by rejecting or vilifying him or his products, by appealing to the sensitivities of his own situation, or by "setting the record straight" in a rival evaluation product.

Thirdly, APM type reactions more typically occur at points in the history of programmes where decisions are about to be taken. These may seriously influence the future of the project being evaluated, either altering, modifying, curtailing or halting it altogether. Those involved are likely to be affected, sometime adversely, in their careers. Accordingly sensitivity, born of a combination of either fear or ambition, is heightened and the threshold of irrational pathological behaviour likely to be lowered. APM type behaviour is therefore more of a probable than a possible occurrence.

8.5. Three derived conclusions: concerning the evaluator's role

The social and political context, national and local, of evaluation needs to be looked at and understood more closely.

Evaluators need to be taken more seriously, and their assessments valued as contributions that are important to the process of deliberation.

On the other hand evaluators need to take their social and political roles more seriously, especially their need to communicate meanings across social political and bureaucratic divides, and to negotiate both their position, their methods, their arguments and conclusions, and with greater point and purpose create acceptability for their craft on the part of those who stand to benefit most from it.

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2. National science foundation: Case studies in science education overview.

3. Federal policy in action: Improving urban education.

Projects: Local

1. Cambridge accountability project.

2. Student choice in a context of institutional change.

Statements

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2.	DAVID JENKINS	The Rowntree contract
3.	BRIAN KAY	The DES and educational research.
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